SOCIAL SCIENCES

AUGUST, 1936

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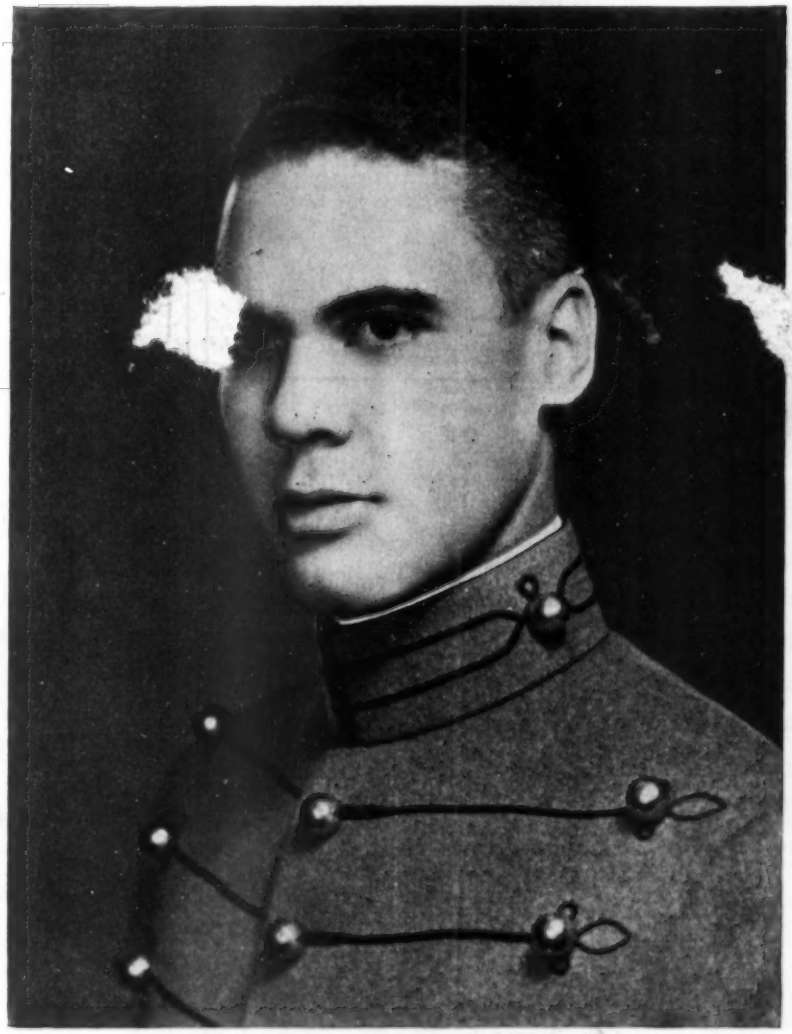


LIEUTENANT BENJAMIN O. DAVIS, JR.

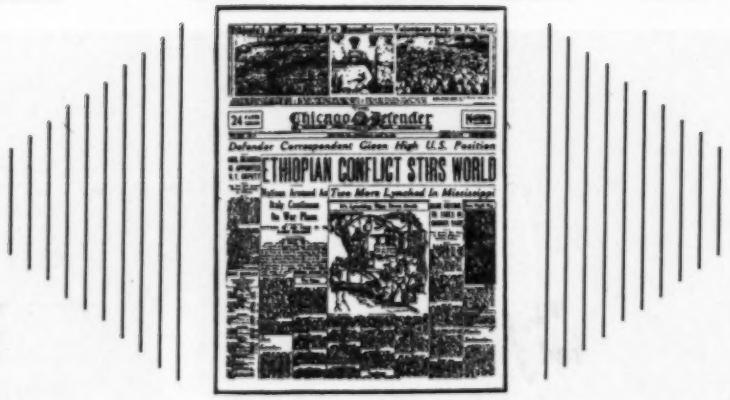
(No. 1 Graduate of the Nation—See page 239)

THE NEGRO AS A CITIZEN

Harold L. Ickes

COLLEGE GRADUATES OF 1936

The World's Greatest Weekly and Why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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

A Record of the Darker Races

ROY WILKINS, Editor

ADVISORY BOARD

J. E. Spingarn *Dr. Louis T. Wright* *James Weldon Johnson* *Lewis Gannett* *Walter White*

Volume 43, *No.* 8 *Whole No.* 308

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910. *It is published monthly at* 69 *Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15c *a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879, *and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

The contents of THE CRISIS *are copyrighted.*

NEXT MONTH

The September number will have the article, "Slave Struggles for Freedom," by Stanley Rappeport, a graduate student at Johns Hopkins university. It should be required reading for every student, white and colored, but especially for the colored.

•

Also an important article from Soviet Russia, written especially for THE CRISIS by Chatwood Hall, a colored Minnesota man, who has been in the Soviet Union for four years. The article deals with the much-talked-about new Constitution of the Soviets. Although the piece will probably make Dr. Garnet Wilkinson and the District of Columbia school board more convinced than ever that THE CRISIS should be barred from the schools of the nation's capital, we can't resist publishing it—and we don't want to resist very much, anyway.

•

Also in September will be a brief piece on the failure at Geneva (in the Ethiopian situation) by David H. Bradford; a story by David H. Kobler; and some notes on the study of Negro history in the New Orleans schools by George Longe.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

The Hon. Harold L. Ickes is Secretary of the Interior and administrator of the Public Works Administration. Many years ago, for a brief period, he was president of the Chicago branch of the N.A.A.C.P. He is the chief spokesman of the New Deal government to Negro Americans.

•

G. James Fleming is a young native of the Virgin Islands who has made a name for himself as a journalist and orator. He is a graduate of Hampton Institute and the University of Wisconsin. At the latter institution he majored in journalism, writing for his thesis one of the best surveys of the Negro press now available. He also won the highest oratory prize on his campus, after which the Wisconsin chapter of a national forensic fraternity created a furore in the college world by proposing his name for membership and carrying on a fight in the national convention against the clause in the constitution barring Negroes. Mr. Fleming at present is city editor of the New York *Amsterdam News*.

•

Lyonel Florant is a student at Howard university, Washington, D. C., and is active in several national student movements.

•

Dr. Louis T. Wright, of New York, is chairman of the board of directors of the N.A.A.C.P. He is a surgeon of note, a specialist in skull fractures, a member of the medical board and chief of the surgical staff at Harlem hospital, and the only Negro fellow of the American College of Surgeons.

•

James H. Robinson, who reviews the youth section of the Baltimore conference of the N.A.A.C.P., is a student at Union Theological seminary in New York.

The Negro As A Citizen

By Harold L. Ickes

The opening address at the 27th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. at Baltimore, Md., Tuesday evening, June 29, was delivered by the Secretary of the Interior. So many requests have come for a copy of the speech, which was delivered over a coast-to-coast network of the National Broadcasting Company, that it is reprinted here in full

I AM happy to be here tonight to address the 27th anniversary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In addition to my natural appreciation of the privilege of addressing you, I feel at home here. The things for which you stand and the broad purposes to which your Association has been dedicated have been among my life-long interests. I have always been sensitive about justice and fair play for those who were without a friend at court. More than once I have stood in the line of battle against those who would exploit the weak and persecute the helpless.

For the past 27 years your Association has been waging this kind of a battle. As a lifeguard you have patroled the beach to safeguard the civic and personal liberties of members of the Negro race. You have fought disfranchisement, segregation, and lynching. Through mass protests, by appeal to the courts, and by arousing public opinion, you have rendered a significant service not alone to Negroes, but to the country as a whole. In cultivating a disposition to accord Negroes their full rights as citizens, you have helped all of us to remember the fundamental principles upon which the Nation is founded.

Congratulations on Progress

Some years ago, it was my privilege for one term to serve as president of the Chicago branch of your Association. During that time, I had the opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with your purposes and program. It was also my good fortune to be associated with some of the fine, forward-looking leaders of the Negro race, the friendship of many of whom I still value highly. Although I have not been officially connected with your organization for a number of years, I have watched its activities with great interest and sympathy. I wish to congratulate you upon the progress that you have made. Many of your achievements have not been heralded, but you have steadily pressed forward toward the goal of legal justice and civic rights for the Negro race.

Another reason why I am pleased to participate in this annual meeting in the State of Maryland is because of the similarity between the principles which you and I stand for and those which animated the founders of this great State.

I am sure that it is well known, at least to those of you who are Marylanders, that Lord Baltimore was characterized by great tolerance. It was his conviction that a man should be allowed to have his own convictions and beliefs. At a time when religious prejudice and bigotry were rife, even on the part of many who had migrated to these shores to escape the prejudice and bigotry that made England intolerable, Lord Baltimore was a liberal. From this attitude of mind flowed many liberal tendencies in Maryland during its early history. I am sure it is remembered today with pride by many citizens of this State, both Negro and white, that this is the State which in line with its finest traditions, gave to the world that great orator, statesman and courageous Negro leader—Frederick Douglass. His life, perhaps more than that of any other single individual, has been the example which has challenged Negroes to press forward and achieve what at first seemed to be impossible. The principles for which he fought are the same as those for which you are struggling today—freedom, justice, opportunity.

Thanks to Douglass and Lincoln and many others who gave their last full measure of devotion, the Union was saved and we are rapidly achieving the goal of a united country—united not alone geographically and politically, but united in spirit, in purpose, in aspirations.

Masses Were Exploited

As we look backward over the road that has led us to our present position of leadership among world democracies, and then forward to the promised land of the future we find two contrasting pictures. Until the recent past, the spirit of adventure was our outstanding characteristic. We pushed back frontier after frontier while wresting a livelihood from a rich but none-too-friendly nature. And because of the very abundance of our natural resources and our lack of knowledge and technical equipment, the process of gaining a livelihood resulted in wasteful exploitation.

Nor was exploitation confined to the natural resources of America; it was practiced also on our human resources. It was during this pioneer period that human slavery became a profitable enterprise. Helpless Negroes were stolen or enticed from their native soil in Africa and transported to these and other shores under conditions which would not be tolerated by the civilized world today. The same spirit of exploitation was manifest in the use of women and children in sweat shops and other fields where at hard tasks they toiled for long hours at inadequate pay.

This was a tooth-and-claw age, during which every man was for himself alone. The masses were sacrificed to swell the profits of the few. It was the ambition of practically every youth to gain material wealth at whatever cost. Some of our greatest fortunes were accumulated during those days, and we were not too particular what methods were used in their accumulation.

Notwithstanding that our frontiers have receded so rapidly, our industrial development has been so immense and so swift in its progress that we have been dazzled by a sort of economic mirage. We thought we were achieving real progress, when it was only an illusion. We have been unable to comprehend the significance of the change from the simplicity and ruggedness of our pioneer life to the complexity, refinements and intimate interrelationships of our present era.

As our conception of democracy in earlier days was influenced by the characteristics and environment of those days, so must our conception of these times be in harmony with the age in which we live. Our old concepts were materialistic. Individuality and the rights of the few and of the strong were emphasized. According to our new concepts, the social aspects of life, the rights of the many and our obligation to protect the weak, will be given ever greater consideration.

New Conception of Government

This new conception is being translated into governmental policy and practice. President Roosevelt, in a recent address, laid stress upon the social responsibility of a democratic government when he said:

"Whether it be in the crowded tenements of the great cities, or on many of the farm lands of the Nation, we know

that there dwell millions of our fellow human beings who suffer from the kind of poverty that spells undernourishment and underprivilege.

"If local governments, if State governments, after exerting every reasonable effort, are unable to better their conditions, to raise or restore their purchasing power, then surely it would take a foolish and short-sighted man to say that it is no concern of the National Government itself.

"Our country is passing through a period which is urgently in need of ardent protectors of the rights of the common man. Mechanization of industry and mass production have put unparalleled power in the hands of the few. No small part of our program today is to bring the fruits of this mechanization to the whole people."

It has been our habit so long to talk glibly about our outstanding ideals of health, our decent living conditions, our high standards of universal common school education, our sense of justice for the masses, that we have actually imagined that we were realizing them. But to a large extent, our boastings have been mere compensatory phantasies by means of which we have sought to deceive ourselves into believing that we are more righteous and social-minded than in fact we are, or that we are bent upon achieving that which in our hearts we do not even desire. We have talked so much about our sense of justice, about equal opportunity under the law, regardless of race, or color, or creed that we have actually blinded our moral perception to the gross exploitation of weaker groups that has been going on under our very eyes.

If we except the Indians, of the many groups that have been exploited, beginning with pioneer days, Negroes perhaps have been the greatest sufferers. They were the most ignorant, the most helpless, and the most docile. Yet the contributions they have made to the material upbuilding of this country are beyond calculation. Certainly, it has been sufficient to justify them in claiming, without apology, the right to earn a decent share of our great weath.

A Chance for the Negro

Under our new conception of democracy, the Negro will be given the chance to which he is entitled—not because he will be singled out for special consideration, but because he preeminently belongs to the class that the new democracy is designed especially to aid. It is to the advantage of Negroes, therefore, that they thoroughly familiarize themselves with the modified social and economic foundation upon which the new democracy is being built. This requires knowledge and understanding of the new forces brought into being by science and technology, and of the various social and political elements which are emerging as a result of greater understanding among men. In order to throw their moral strength and the weight of their influence on the side of the new liberalism and progressivism that is emerging from the welter of our political life, they must have sufficient intelligence and training to make a wise choice among social values. Unfortunately, we know too well that the educational opportunities enjoyed by Negroes are too meager and even in many cases too antiquated for them to develop the type of intelligence required for effective functioning in our keenly competitive democratic society. This makes it all the more important to develop a sound leadership such as this organization can supply.

I have said that the Negro has been probably the greatest sufferer during the period of our development when exploitation was the general rule. I wish to elaborate on this.

In the economic realm, the Negro has lived for generations on the very fringes. He has been required to work at jobs of the lowest grades, for long hours, at small pay. There has been slight opportunity or encouragement for him to break into the higher levels of employment or into new fields. As a rule, organized labor has refused to enroll him in its ranks. This discrimination has frequently resulted in his use as a "scab" for strike breaking purposes. The general lack of educational facilities has been most acute in the vocational and economic realms. There has been neither proper vocational training, adapted to occupational needs, nor instruction in those important economic and social principles which should be the stock-in-trade of every worker. In some cases where, by means of apprenticeship or otherwise, he has become skilled in certain trades he has been refused a license to engage in that trade.

Taxation Without Representation

In the exercise of the suffrage that is guaranteed him by the Constitution the Negro has met with many abuses and obstacles. In some localities he is callously disfranchised; in other places, for generations, he has been exploited by corrupt politicians, who have bought his vote or have made him promises which were never expected to be kept. And, finally, he has been the victim of taxation without representation.

Educationally the Negro on the average lags far below the accepted standards in those communities where separate schools for the Negro and white races are maintained. Studies made in the Office of Education of the Department of the Interior show (1) a lack of availability of educational facilities for Negroes; (2) inadequate financial support; (3) poorly prepared, poorly paid, and improperly selected teachers; and (4) ill-adapted educational programs. Here we have a sad commentary on our democratic principle of equal opportunity, especially when we realize the importance of education in our scheme of life and that Negroes are required to meet the same standards as other citizens.

The general social and civic status of Negroes reveals a picture quite as unsatisfactory as those which portray the economic and educational phases of their lives. Their high morbidity, their crime rate, their infant mortality and their short life span may be attributed very largely to conditions of their environment. Their homes, for which they are charged exorbitant prices both as buyers and renters, are located in the poorest and most insanitary sections of the community, without adequate streets, pavements, water supply, lighting, sewerage, drainage, or fire and police protection. In addition to malnutrition, due to the sub-marginal existence that so many of them lead, there is a lack of medical and hospital care, of pre-natal and maternal care, as well as a general absence of counterbalancing influences such as recreational, welfare, and educational agencies and facilities.

When the extent to which Negroes have been the victims of prejudice, passion, ignorance, and discrimination is realized and the degree to which they have met with frustrations in their legitimate efforts to improve themselves and their race, their achievements merit our admiration. A race possessing less fortitude and faith would have fallen by the wayside.

I congratulate you on your patience, and on the fact that you have worked while you waited. I believe that your cheerful disposition, your faith, your loyalty and your lack of resentment are some of the qualities that have brought you the success that already is yours. May I admonish you as a sincere friend to "keep the Faith!" In spite of the wrongs that have been committed against you, do not become bitter. Hatred is a venom which poisons the blood and incapacitates the person who generates it. Resist wrong stanchly, fight injustice and discrimination, but as for hating those who are guilty of

(*Continued on page* 242)

BIDS FOR VOTERS

The October issue of THE CRISIS, out September 25, will contain statements from all the political parties on their attitude toward Negro Americans.

The Going Is Rough but They Make It

By G. James Fleming

ONE of the most interesting and valuable purposes of the CRISIS Education Number is that it presents for the first time each commencement season what may be called the gains and losses of the Negro race in the educational world during the preceding school year, and brings together samples of the body graduate, not only from the numerous institutions dedicated primarily to the education of the Negro, but especially from the so-called white colleges and universities. Reader interest is always particularly attracted to the news coming from leading (non-Negro) institutions.

"What new barriers have been raised in the way of Negro young men and young women this past year?"

"What obstacles have these young people been able to overcome successfully?"

"What high honors have they won, or what high honors were they entitled to, but did not get because they happened to be colored?"

"Have the most recent crop of American students been sent into the world crammed with the latest facts and figures in every field of endeavor, except the very important one of respecting human personality, of discovering true values in their fellows, of learning to work and live with other people, regardless of their race or color?"

Answers to these questions, affording a cross-section of American college life in its bearing on the Negro, come with the Education Number, as well as pertinent information concerning the state of the education-for-life process going on in the purely Negro schools. This article essays to tell some of the experiences behind the Negroes graduating from white institutions of learning.

Not All Olympian

The prominent part being played by Negroes in the Olympics this year, representing as they do American universities in the East, the Middle West, and on the Pacific Coast, might be called striking examples of opportunity held open to a minority group in America, as contrasted with the divers and devious ways in which German Jews are reportedly being kept out of this historic athletic extravaganza. It is too true, however, that in some, if not in all, of these very institutions, Negroes are as systematically and consistently barred from other student activities as they are seemingly being pushed in the Olympic track and field events.

A great deal of attention is devoted to the inequalities in separate school systems and the consequent difficulties of Negro students in gaining an adequate education. Recently there has been discussion of the obstacles in the path of Negro students in mixed colleges. The article here, by a man who attended a Negro college as well as a great northern university, seems to give a comprehensive survey of campus life for Negro students in the North

It is scarcely news any longer that in the majority of leading universities in America, a Negro just cannot make the varsity basketball team. He is not permitted to. If the coach allows him to play on the freshman five, that one season is the beginning and end of his competition. Some way will be found to keep him off the varsity. It is not just lack of material, for instance, that the schools of the Big Ten produce many outstanding football players, but no basketball players.

Some universities open wide their doors to Negro football players, but will allow no Negro to make the track team; others will welcome them on track and football teams, but will have none of them on swimming or fencing teams. There is apparently neither rime nor reason why the same institution will accept Negroes in one sport and give them every chance to achieve, and will at the same time, and under the same administration, absolutely raise bars against Negroes in other sports.

In baseball, of course, the excuse is that northern colleges must go South on practice tours during the Spring and play against teams below the Mason and Dixon lines; therefore, Negroes would be embarrassing to southern host teams. When the South comes north to play football in the fall, these northern institutions again oblige, and bench even first string Negro players, in order not to offend their southern guests.

Even those schools that are most liberal towards Negro athletes, and whose names become more famous as the result of a Negro's stellar performance, may represent the case of the right hand not knowing what the left hand is doing, and be quite as illiberal, and anti-Negro, as those institutions which for some reason or other tolerate having Negro students, but do not ever fully accept them as integral and welcomed members of the student body.

Barred From Unions

One year when two Negroes were starring on the football and track teams of a leading state university, these and other Negro students were exposed to one of the most bitter cases of prejudice and discrimination from eating places on the campus that refused to serve them, and from the student social union that somehow made rules that kept Negroes out of what was intended to be a center of rest, relaxation, recreation and culture for all students.

In one state, where there are more Negro members in the two bodies of the legislature than in any other state, until very recently the student union at the state university was also closed against Negroes and Negro students are still barred from all the campus restaurants.

Besides little annoyances and taunts from instructors and professors in this same institution, the dean of the law school went so far as to greet a Negro student (a son of taxpaying parents, incidentally) with these words:

"I want to warn you in advance that *you* can't make an 'A' or a 'B' in any course I give."

No white student could be found who had been warned similarly.

In a privately endowed university, which was established by one of the leading Protestant denominations, Negro girls majoring in physical education are not permitted to use the university's swimming pool, although swimming is one of the courses required for graduation. When the president was approached by a citizens' committee on the subject, he said conclusively:

"The Negro students here do not pay enough money to buy the coal used in any one year by this university, much less buy anything else. If they don't like the arrangements we have here, they can leave of course."

No one could talk to this many-degreed veteran educator of the right versus wrong, of the immorality of his position. He had spoken and the issue was closed.

Preachers of Honesty, But—

Then there are institutions which preach individual honesty, but act very dishonestly themselves. This group is best represented by that western teacher's college which, after years of awarding a silver loving cup to the sorority maintaining the highest scholar-

ship during the preceding quarter, abruptly stopped the award when Alpha Kappa Alpha, a Greek letter society of Negro college women, became eligible for the honor. One quarter after the other, the AKA's maintained their high scholarship ranking, and quarter after quarter, the dean chose not to continue the practice of signalizing and rewarding high scholarship.

At one university, an institution whose athletic history could never be fully written without devoting tremendous space to men of color, a Negro, who had stood so far in front of the rest of his classmates, that he was made managing editor of the university's daily, was not elected to the journalism fraternity although lesser lights all around him were thus honored. When the time for election came around, the local chapter telegraphed the fraternity's national office and asked:

"Can a Negro Be Elected to (Blank) Fraternity?"

"A Negro has never been elected, but the Constitution does not prevent such election," the answer came back.

The college men and their faculty advisers decided, however, that they would not set the precedent. Although the decision not to elect was not unanimous, everyone complacently acquiesced to the Negro being passed over.

In this same university, a Negro girl majoring in home economics was barred from living in the practice home at the same time with white girls, the university thus tossing away an opportunity to promote understanding between members of the two races, and the colored victim robbed of the experience of living in a model home and sharing the duties of home-making. Certainly the banishment of this young woman to perform her practice home duties all by herself was not equality and no compensation for her exclusion from living with her fellow students.

Alumni Often Reactionary

Sometimes it is the alumni members of an honor or professional society who, still marking time in the past, fan the flames of opposition and ill-will, and put a stop to a proposed election of a Negro to membership in an undergraduate chapter.

Not so many months ago, after a girl had already been pledged by a chapter of the leading journalism sorority, all kinds of pressure were brought to have the chapter rescind its action or have the pledgee to reconsider, and decide not to become a member.

At other times it is the national constitution of a fraternity or sorority which specifically states that "no Negro, regardless of his other achievements, may become a member," and there are numerous "honor" societies, whose requisites for membership are based on high scholarship, but whose anti-Negro clause ties the hands of their chapters and prevents them from electing a Negro.

These anti-Negro clauses obtain, regardless of how willing a chapter might be to elect a Negro, or how eligible the Negro.

Very fortunately Greek letter organizations like Alpha Omega Alpha in medicine, Sigma Sigma and Sigma Xi in scientific research, Phi Beta Kappa for high scholarship and Phi Kappa Phi for both high scholarship and campus leadership, a respectable list of significant scholarship societies, do not draw the color line in their constitutions.

Administrators to Blame

Academic and administrative deans, registrars and deans of women are in very pivotal positions to help or hurt Negro students. These officials come into first contact with them, and give them the first encouragement or throw the first obstacles in their way—obstacles which may continue all through a student's career. It is often these men and women whose sole desires and decisions admit or bar a Negro seeking to matriculate in a medical school (even the medical school of the tax-supported university). It is these, too, who, arbitrarily shunt Negroes off to find rooming accommodations in the Negro district, regardless of how far away this district may be from the campus, the quality of the accommodation which the Negro families can offer, or of how capable the Negro student may be of paying to live in a college dormitory. Sometimes, with sincere purpose, a dean of men, or dean of women, will set out to establish some house "where you Negro students can live together and have your own nice social and home life." Often, there are not really enough Negroes at the university to make it profitable to operate a house for either men or women, but, bent on keeping even a single Negro from living under the same roof with whites, these officials will try anything. Negro women are perhaps the chief victims of housing policies.

Katherine Elizabeth Bell
M.A.
Columbia University

A liberal college administration can often inherit a dean of women who is most reactionary and has never heard of Franz Boas, nor of the mature, enlightened courses in anthropology offered a stone's throw away in her own institution. This kind of dean will try to set up all kinds of injunctions to limit, or prevent, joint activity on the part of white and Negro students, and, of course, one of her fine sweet, white girls must never stroll or sip a malted milk with a Negro.

Many Factors Involved

What a Negro student undergoes in one of our leading institutions depends on any number of factors, including these:

(1) The courage and point of view of the president.

(2) The traditional heritage of the institution and the State in their attitude to human questions and vital issues.

(3) The courage and points of view of individual faculty members.

(4) The interest of outstanding students and the articulate student body in other than the "rah rah" side of college life.

(5) The concern of the Negro students in sharing to the fullest extent in the manifold experiences of college life and in building up friendships where these friendships will count most.

If a college president is not himself tied down to the narrownesses of race prejudice and a belief that he and his race are superior to all other races; if his integrity is broad-gauged; if he has seen the light—then, through his leadership, if he has the courage, he may force his deans and the rest of his faculty to practice a more liberal policy to students representing minority groups.

Obviously, a faculty which looks to a president who declares and practices that "Here all students are equal, whether they come from the homes of the rich or the poor, whether they are Jews or Gentiles, white or black," will be a different faculty from one which

(*Continued on page* 240)

Charles Lionel Franklin
Ph.D.
Columbia University

Rev. J. Raymond Henderson
S.T.M.
Andover-Newton Theological Seminary

Ruth Gwendolyn Smith
M.A.
Columbia University

Wadaran L. Kennedy
Ph.D.
Pennsylvania State

Fitzroy E. Younge
Honor Student
Meharry

The American Negro in College, 1935-1936

IN this, its twenty-fifth annual education number, THE CRISIS once more presents only a partial picture of the Negro students in college and of the 1936 Negro college graduates. We have to depend upon volunteer information from registrars and individuals, having no staff to pursue statistics down to the last graduate. Many graduates, themselves, prefer not to be counted, and many attend relatively small colleges, tucked away here and there, and unless they speak up, no one knows they have attended and been graduated. Then, too, many graduates will not send in their information or photographs until the education number is published. This year, as in previous years, several of the larger northern and western universities replied to our questionnaire by saying they kept no record of the racial identity of students and therefore could not report how many colored students were enrolled, or how many were receiving degrees.

According to our figures, Howard again leads in the number of degrees conferred, 137; Tennessee State is next with 95 and Tuskegee next with 80. No statistics were received from Hampton Institute which is usually among the leaders.

Such figures as we have been able to collect indicate that at least 141 colored students were graduated from mixed universities and colleges in the North and West.

This year the following persons were given the degree of doctor of philosophy: Edward L. Washington, New York university; Elmer Ernest Collins, Western Reserve university; Miles W. Connor, New York university; Cyril F. Atkins, University of Iowa; Wadaran L. Kennedy, Pennsylvania State college; J. Max Bond, University of Southern California; Howard D. Gregg, University of Pennsylvania; Charles Lionel Franklin, Columbia university; and Earl L. Sasser, Cornell university. There were 139 degrees of master of arts and sciences conferred by mixed and Negro institutions combined.

From their professional schools Howard university graduated 44 and Meharry Medical college 55. Detailed information and statistics:

D. E. Johnson of Lincoln university, Pa. was the highest ranking student and valedictorian.

Barrington D. Parker of Lincoln university, Pa., was the second highest ranking student and salutatorian.

Daniel Andrew Collins was the highest honor student at Paine College.

James Oliver West, Jr., was graduated *summa cum laude* from Virginia Union University.

Wadaran L. Kennedy was one of the honor students at Pennsylvania State college. He was awarded his Ph.D. in dairy husbandry.

Miss Bettie Louise Whitenhill was the highest ranking student in the history of Louisville Municipal College with a straight "A" record for four years of work.

Miss Clayton Eulise Lowe was a commencement speaker and the ranking student at Florida A. and M. College.

Miss Wilma B. Knowles was graduated *magna cum laude* from Arkansas State A. M. and N. College.

Miss Vera Chandler and Wiley B. Daniel, Jr. were graduated *magna cum laude* from Fisk university.

Miss Daisy Tynes was the highest ranking student at Livingstone college.

Miss Emma Carolyn Lemon was the ranking student at Spelman college.

Miss Dorothy Hawkins was graduated *magna cum laude* from Tennessee A. and I. State college.

Miss Hattie Mae Whiting was the ranking

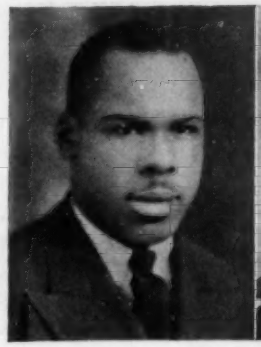
Clarice Mae Hatcher
Ph.B.
Loyola University

Katherine Bonner
B.A.
Howard University

Clayton Eulise Lowe
Ranking Student
Florida A. & M.

Laura V. Lee
Cum laude
Mount Holyoke College

Vera Chandler
Magna cum laude
Fisk University



Willard Blystone Ransome
Summa cum laude
Talladega

Caroline Lemon
Ranking Student
Spelman College

Owen Dodson
B.A.
Bates College

Frances Virginia Kenney
Honor Student
West Virginia State

J. R. Lillard
B.S.
University of Nebraska

student at Prairie View State college.

Herman R. Branson was the highest honor student at Virginia State college.

Miss Frances Virginia Kenney was the highest honor student at West Virginia State college.

Baldwin Wesley Burroughs was the ranking student at Wiley college.

Carlus Mathis May was the ranking student at Morris Brown university.

Reginald St.Clair Reid was the highest honor student at A. and T. College of North Carolina.

Charles Edward Brown was the ranking student at Morgan college.

Miss Elizabeth Garland Schmoke, the highest honor student at Shaw university, was graduated *magna cum laude*.

Wayland C. Fuller was the highest honor student at Bishop college.

Miss Almeta Virginia Crockett was graduated with honors from Lincoln university of Missouri.

Oswell William Bannister was the highest honor student at Bluefield State Teachers college.

At Meharry Medical college Fitzroy E. Younge had the highest average for his four years in medicine; Miss Donzleigh H. Jefferson had the highest average in dentistry; Daniel E. Taylor had the highest average in pharmacy and Miss Irma E. Kelly had the highest average in nurse training.

Miss Rother Lee Suggs was the highest ranking student at North Carolina College for Negroes.

Warren Hill Brothers and Willard Blystone Ransom were graduated *summa cum laude* from Talladega college.

Miss Victoria Bernice Baker was the highest honor student at Bethune-Cookman College.

Andrew Betrand Royal was graduated *cum laude* from Claflin university.

Miss Annie Laurie King was the valedictorian at Clark university.

Miss Jamesie Mae Ross was graduated with honors from State College, Dover, Dela.

Miss Gloria Mae Kelly was the highest ranking student at Wilberforce.

Samuel Stevenson Murray was the ranking student at State A. and M. College, Orangeburg, S. C.

Effie Lynette Dobbins was graduated with honors from Alabama State Teachers college.

Miss Leila Smith Green was graduated *summa cum laude* from Howard university.

Miss Lottie Louise Robinson was the highest honor student at Lane College.

Berry McClennan Davis was graduated with honors from Johnson C. Smith university.

Miss Thelma Louise Taylor was the ranking student at Tillotson College.

Miss Edna Ernestine Baker and John Lee Jones were the highest honor students at St. Augustine's college.

At Cheyney Training School for Teachers Miss Mary Agnes Shaw sustained the highest scholastic average for four years. Wade Wilson received First Scholar's prize and Miss Elizabeth Walker received the Second Scholar's prize for the year 1935-36.

Miss Elsie Lucille Grier was the honor student at Barber-Scotia college.

Miss Henrietta Smith was graduated with honors from Jarvis Christian College.

Miss Edwina Marie Myles was the highest honor student at Tougaloo college.

Leon Myers was the honor student at Voorhees N. and I. school.

Miss Mary Magdalene Wilson was graduated *magna cum laude* from Benedict college.

Miss Larcenia Ferne Wood was the highest honor student at Bennett College for Women.

John Edward Hodge was elected to the honorary mathematics fraternity Pi Mu Epsilon and also to the honorary organization Phi Beta Kappa at the University of Kansas.

William Duncan Allen Jr. was elected to membership in the Theta chapter of the Pi Kappa Lambda fraternity at Oberlin College.

Ulysses S. Keys, winner of the Brandeis Law Club Competition, represented Loyola university in Illinois State Bar Association Competition.

Miss Myrtle E. Pollard received honorable mention for her thesis at the College of the City of New York.

Horace Joffre Prescod distinguished himself in history at Boston university.

Miss Laura Veronica Lee was graduated *cum laude* from Mount Holyoke College. She was admitted to honors work in economics and sociology.

J. Max Bond was awarded his doctor of philosophy degree with honors from the University of Southern California.

John Hankerson was the ranking student at Georgia State Industrial College.

Miss Ruth Gwendolyn Hamlin was graduated *magna cum laude* from Butler university.

Dr. Clement deFreitas received his master of science degree from Columbia university. In 1924 he received his doctor of medicine degree from the University of Illinois.

Howard D. Gregg, dean of education at Wilberforce university, received his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania.

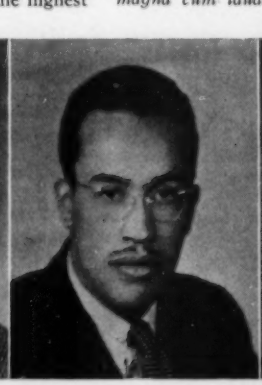
William Marvin Gibson was awarded his master of arts degree in sociology at Clark university.

Miss Alice N. Murrell was graduated *magna cum laude* from Schauffer College of

Warren Hill Brothers
Summa cum laude
Talladega

Baldwin Wesley Burroughs
Honor Student
Wiley College

Barrington D. Parker
Salutatorian
Lincoln University, Pa.



Herman R. Branson
Ranking Student
Virginia State

Bettie Louise Whitenhill
Ranking Student
Louisville Municipal College

Reginald St. Clair Reid
Honor Student
A. & T. College of N. C.

D. E. Johnson
Valedictorian
Lincoln University, Pa.

Leon Myers
Honor Student
Voorhees N. & I.

Daniel Andrew Collins
Ranking Student
Paine College

Hattie Mae Whiting
Honor Student
Prairie View State

Religious and Social Work. She was awarded her B.S. degree.

Miss Marechal Neil V. Ellison received the degree of master of arts in sociology from the University of Pennsylvania. She was one of the few students rewarded for meritorious work done in the graduate schools.

William Allen an instructor in the Howard university school of music for six years, was awarded his master of music degree from Oberlin Conservatory of Music. Mr. Allen has been appointed an assistant professor at Fisk.

Owen Dodson was graduated from Bates College with the degree of bachelor of arts. He received honorable mention for his work in the Phi Beta Kappa reading contest.

Samuel G. Fletcher received his master of arts in education from the University of Pennsylvania.

Miss Amy Joyce J. Denniston received her M.A. degree from Boston university.

Miss Winifred Mason received her M.A. in education from New York university.

Miss Valerie Justiss received her master of arts degree from the University of Toledo.

Lawrence Bertell Wilson was awarded his M.A. degree in political science from the University of Illinois. He is a member of the American Political Science Association and Phi Beta Sigma fraternity.

T. Everett Henry received his M.A. from New York university.

Miss Ruth Gwendolyn Smith, a member of the Paris-Columbia group, studied abroad at the University of Paris and was awarded her master of arts degree in French from Columbia university.

Miss Lucy Price Graves was graduated from Hunter college.

Miss Florence R. Beatty received her M.A. from the University of Illinois.

Miss Carol Blanton received her certificate from the Juilliard Institute of Musical Art.

Miss Katherine L. Bonner was awarded her B.A. in sociology at Howard university.

Dr. Charles Lionel Franklin received his Ph.D. from Columbia university.

A. H. Turner, Jr. received his master of business administration degree from the University of Pennsylvania.

Miss Clarice Mae Hatcher received her Ph.B. from Loyola university.

Miss Katherine Elizabeth Bell was awarded her master of arts degree in French at Columbia university. She was a foreign exchange student in 1932-33 at the College d'Orleans, France.

J. R. Lillard received his B.S. degree in education from the University of Nebraska.

Sylvester Warren Dickson was awarded his master of arts degree in geology and geography at the University of Illinois.

B. Alfred Cox received his bachelor of science degree in industrial education with honors from West Virginia State College.

The Rev. J. Raymond Henderson received his master of sacred theology degree at Andover-Newton Theological Seminary while on leave from his duties as minister in the Wheat Street Baptist church, Atlanta, Ga.

Besides those receiving the bachelor's degree, the following degrees have been bestowed on Negro students: Doctors of Philosophy, 10; Masters of Arts and Science, 139; Master of Law, 1; Bachelors of Law, 9; Doctors of Medicine, 69; Doctors of Dental Surgery, 12; Doctors of Law, 2; Civil Engineer, 1; Juris Doctor, 1; Bachelors of Divinity, 27; Masters of Education, 6; Pharmaceutical Chemist, 1; Doctors of Education, 2.

Other degrees: Bus.B., 5; Mus.M., 1; Ph.B., 3; M.B.A., 1; B.F.A., 1; B.P.E., 1; S.T.M., 3; B.B.A., 2; B.S.M., 2; Th.B., 9; D.D., 4.

School	Number Enrolled	A.B. or B.S.
Howard	1,805	139
Tennessee A. & I. State	1,049	95
Tuskegee Institute	922	80
Alabama State Teachers College	886	22
Prairie View	866	73
Virginia State	847	83
Wiley	827	36
Virginia Union	806	61
Lane College	689	31
Wilberforce	681	22
West Virginia State	655	88
Morris-Brown	596	37
A. & T. College of North Carolina	543	33
State A. & M. College, Orangeburg, S. C.	486	92
Louisville Municipal College	474	32
Morgan	461	51
Shaw	459	39
Clark University	450	48
Bishop College	414	21
Lincoln University, Mo.	410	37
Fisk	370	48
Morehouse	356	44
A., M. & N. College, Pine Bluff, Ark.	350	23
Georgia State Industrial College	334	35
Johnson C. Smith	320	48
St. Augustine's College	308	37
Bluefield State Teachers College	303	24
Tillotson	294	19
Meharry	280	..
North Carolina College for Negroes	280	24
Lincoln University, Pa.	..	42
Spelman	274	34
Talladega	264	45
Bethune-Cookman College	256	..
Livingstone College	225	27
Paine College	222	14
Claflin University	179	19
Cheyney Training School for Teachers	159	32
Barber-Scotia College	141	..
Atlanta University	132	..
Jarvis Christian College	117	..

(*Continued on page 252*)

William Allen
Mus.M.
Oberlin

Amy Joyce J. Denniston
M.A.
Boston University

T. Everett Henry
M.A.
New York University

Sylvester Warren Dickson
M.A.
University of Illinois

Winifred Mason
M.A.
New York University

Youth Exhibits A New Spirit

By Lyonel Florant

The Negro and white youth of the nation unite for militant action recognizing that problems of today have their origin in the struggle for existence, cutting across all race and color lines

A NEW spirit manifests itself among Negro youth. Dissatisfied with those patterns of thought and action bequeathed them in the past, they have set about to determine their own solution to their problems, and to shape their own destiny. The recently formed youth section of the National Negro Congress is not just another of the numerous organizations which tend to crop up on the racial horizon ever so often with a pet line of solution for this or that problem. It represents an attempt of many organizations to combine their forces, for they have learned from experience the need for united effort on a minimum program—if the optimum good is to be achieved for the greatest number.

It was at the historic National Negro Congress held in Chicago, February 14–16, that two hundred youth delegates federated their strength into a youth section. This was no new organization, but an amalgamation of groups, all of which were interested in and struggling for economic opportunity for Negro youth, better educational facilities, adequate recreational provisions, decent living conditions, and a peaceful society—free from lynchings, fascist terror, and the imminence of war. All types of organizations cast in their lots—church groups, Y's, Jr. N.A.A.C.P.'s, alumni clubs of many colleges, student groups, forums, trade unions, and political organizations.

To many, the importance of the undertaking has not yet struck home. But it has had great significance to those who have worked in the student movement for years and can recognize its historical origin. This youth section concretizes a development which has recently manifested itself in Negro student circles—a tendency to substitute for a narrow racial outlook an orientation based on class composition. Negro students are rapidly realizing their identity of interest with the working class.

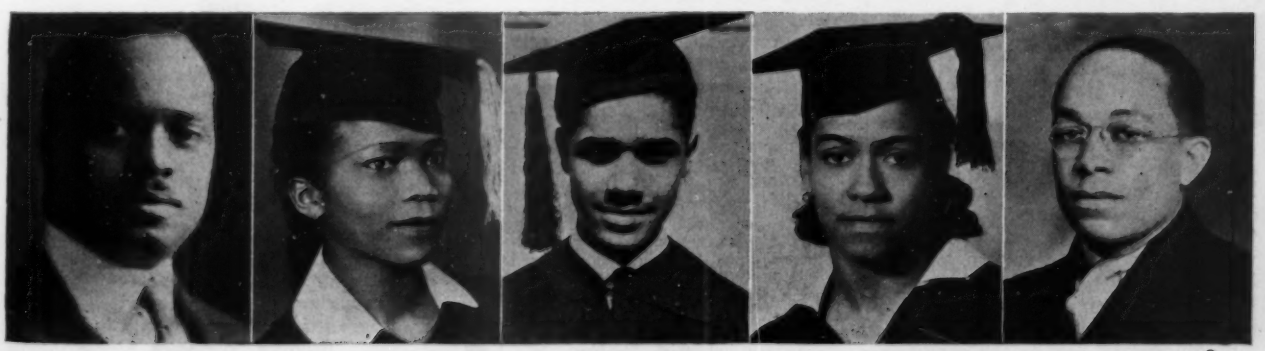
Militant Youth Confers

As far back as 1933, white and Negro students felt the need for calling a conference at Columbia university to discuss the problems of the Negro students. It was not the old interracial get-together at which hands were shaken "for Jesus' sake," and, after a few sessions of intellectual back-slapping, Negroes and whites returned to their isolated way of living. No, it was a fiery, militant conference, that brought students and professors out of the deep South. The sugary spirit was absent; instead there was a common resolve to go back to the South and, for that matter, many areas of the North, and tackle shoulder to shoulder the problems of discrimination.

Much has taken place since that conference. Most of the Negro students who attended have become militant leaders, both on the campuses and in the working class movement. A few of the events that show the trend of affairs will serve to indicate the development now reaching maturity. Several conferences held in 1933 had as their major topic race prejudice, but two meetings stand out as very significant. One was a conference of students from Negro colleges held at Howard, and the other was the meeting of the National Student League at the same university during the Christmas vacation. This latter conference was again predominantly white, but a fact that it was held on a Negro campus and that several Negro students attended, indicates that already students of both races were coming to the realization that those problems formerly considered wholly Negro were well interlaced with those of white youth and vice versa. The League resolved that only through common struggle against the forces of reaction could solutions be achieved. It proposed militant student organization on the various Negro and white campuses in close cooperation with the labor movement in the locality. About the same time, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, an organization which educated for socialism before its amalgamation with the National Student League to form the American Student Union, made overtures to Negro students to join its ranks.

Students Protest Lynching of Cheek

The repercussions were many and interesting. In Richmond, white students from the University of Virginia and Negroes from Virginia Union went to the state legislature in a body and demanded increased appropriations for their schools. At Virginia State a militant strike was organized against the "Victorian and convent-like atmosphere" which prevailed under the administration. Students at Fisk, under the leadership of the Denmark Vesey Forum, rose



William Marvin Gibson
M.A.
Clark University, Mass.

Dorothy Hawkins
Magna cum laude
Tennessee A. & I. State

Charles Edward Brown
Ranking Student
Morgan College

Alice N. Murrell
Magna cum laude
Schauffler College of Religious and Social Work

Wiley B. Daniel, Jr.
Magna cum laude
Fisk University

as one body in protest against the lynching of Cordie Cheek. That spring saw students from Texas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Mississippi assembled at Gulfport, Mississippi under the auspices of the Student Christian Movement. Though not as fully aware of the nature and scope of their problems as were those students at the Columbia conference, there were many who then recognized the need for organized effort to combat many of the limitations on freedom of speech and thought which envelop campus life in the deep South. Even then there were stories of the unemployed sharecroppers taking over court houses in the state of Mississippi for organizational purposes.

National attention soon shifted to Fisk university, cream of the Negro colleges, when word circled the country of the dismissal of Ishmael Flory, a graduate student, who dared to lead students in a protest against jim-crowism at a local theatre. This tyrannical display of authority on the part of the administration and the Uncle Tomism of many Negro as well as white members of the Fisk faculty, shocked the whole student world—white and black. Protest after protest stormed Nashville, students of the Denmark Vesey Forum circulated a petition demanding that the faculty reinstate Flory, and Norman Thomas wired: "Unthinkable for Fisk to support policy of jim-crowism." Flory was never reinstated. Last word states that he is in California leading a day to day struggle in the labor movement.

In the spring of that year white and Negro students held an L.I.D. conference in jim-crow Knoxville, Tennessee. The spirit of united effort had grown by now from a hope to a reality. Here were students in the South crumbling the wall of discrimination with a single battering ram—progressive, determined action.

Campus Activities Go Underground

The year of 1935 found local chapters of the S.L.I.D. and the N.S.L. organized on several Negro college campuses. In almost every case activity had to be carried on underground. Membership in either organization was a basis for expulsion. Yet Negroes rallied to the new approach. Howard students sent a delegation to the Brussels Congress Against War and Fascism as well as carried on a campaign for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys and Angelo Herndon. Two hundred and fifty students marched on April 12 through pouring rain to the gymnasium where a mammoth strike against war and fascism was carried on between the hours of eleven and noon. More than six hundred students refused to attend classes.

At the first American Youth Congress called at New York university, Negro students from all parts of the country joined in the establishment of a bona fide youth organization which united for peace, freedom and security. Throughout the turbulent sessions, Negro youth played an important part. They contributed freely to the discussions which resulted in a complete analysis of racial prejudice and put into words the new ideology which had been evidencing itself at student conferences in the two previous years. There were two features of this new ideology which especially differentiated it from the old: first, was the "awakening" which revealed the economic basis of racial prejudice, and the second was the logical patterning of a class rather than a racial solution.

The reaction of Negro youth organizations has been increasingly favorable to the American Youth Congress. When the Congress met in Detroit last year demands were made by Negro delegates that a special session be devoted to the discussion of the problems of minority groups. At one of these sessions it was pointed out that although Negro organizations had responded to the Congress call in large numbers, in proportion to the problems confronting youth of this generation, the need for organizational activities had not yet been felt on a wide scale among Negroes. The National Negro Congress was then merely an idea born at the Conference on Minorities at Howard university, but not a reality. Yet, the delegates welcomed the proposed federation of organizations interested in the problems of Negro youth, and among the resolutions passed can be found one supporting the organization and its purposes.

Youth Demands a Hearing

It was Edward Strong, Negro vice-chairman of the American Youth Congress who rallied the youth to organize on February 15 at the National Negro Congress with his fiery speech "Youth Demands a Hearing." His concluding remarks are significant enough to warrant quotation:

> Out of this crisis the present generation of youth was transformed. Instead of youth living on illusions, we have today a group that looks reality clearly in the face. An ever increasing number of young Negroes understand our basic problem to be an economic one. We have an ever increasing number of young Negroes that understand that these basic economic problems cannot be solved by Negroes alone, but through the cooperative efforts of all people searching for industrial freedom. We have an ever increasing number of young Negroes that understand the needs for unification in our efforts to produce a concrete program through which economic slavery, political disfranchisement, and social inequalities may be eradicated. . . .
>
> How can we unify our efforts? It can be done through building an all-inclusive youth movement that will put a stick of dynamite under the industrial barons that rule this country. Before we leave here we ought to consider and consider very carefully the organizing of a National Federation of Negro youth to come under the general supervision of any permanent agency that it may set up. Such a Congress must include every sector of Negro youth. It must include both organized and unorganized. Youth from the church and the school, from the farm and the factory, from the settlement house and from every type of fraternal, social, and political group. It must include all of those forces of youth, white or black, that stand ready to unite with us in making impossible another Scottsboro. Such a federation would be a tremendous aid in making sure the freedom of Angelo Herndon. . . . "

This is the "new spirit." Since February, the national organization has carried on with headquarters in Washington. It has grown tremendously; from every large city comes word of activity. Chicago youth demand a recreational center on the South side and have planned it in detail for the approval of city officials. They have carried their fight against discrimination to the public utilities and demanded jobs for their college graduates and skilled workers. Philadelphia youth as well as those in Atlantic City have led the campaign of the adult group. In the relief agencies they have waged a battle against discrimination and carried on a day to day fight with officials for more WPA jobs for unemployed Negro workers. New York has been the scene of combat with the school board against zoning restrictions which herd Negro high school students into the oldest schools where emphasis is placed on industrial and domestic rather than academic training. These efforts have resulted in promises for two new schools.

Problems of Negro Students

As a forerunner to the Southern Youth Conference to be held at Richmond in November, a conference on "The Problems of Negro Students" was called at Howard university May 15–16 under the joint sponsorship of the Howard Committee of the National Negro Congress and the Student Council. Delegates from Columbia, C. C. N. Y., N. Y. U., Temple, Lincoln, Hampton, Bowie Normal, Virginia Union, Du Saible High School (Chicago), Western Reserve, New Jersey Teachers College, St. Paul, Downington A. & I., Ohio State, and several local schools attended. Answering the challenge of Langston Hughes that "Many of our institutions . . . produce spineless Uncle Toms uninformed and full of mental and moral evasions," they fearlessly attacked the

(*Continued on page 253*)

No. 1 Graduate of the Nation

IN all the years this education number of THE CRISIS has been appearing, there have been few occasions when any one graduate could be singled out as being in front of the rest. All have had hardships, all have made sacrifices. Many have won signal honors in difficult fields. Not a few have attained the highest degrees awarded in either American or European universities. The humblest student who has fought his way through four years of college against odds deserves equal honors with his fellows in this issue of recognition of the achievements of graduates.

But this year there is one who deserves top rank in the roll of American Negro college graduates. He is the No. 1 graduate of the race. For each hardship others suffered, Benjamin O. Davis suffered two. No matter how "tough" they thought they had it, he had it "tougher." Did they fight loneliness, ostracism, hostility? He fought twice as much as they. In addition, he kept himself under the most exacting discipline, measured shoulder to shoulder with his fellows, did everything required of him down to the last comma and period in the book of regulations and in the unwritten book of tradition. In June, to martial music, high on the Palisades of the Hudson, he marched up to the front of his class, snapped a salute to General John J. Pershing, and received from that veteran warrior his commission as a second lieutenant in the United States army.

On that proud day, Lt. Davis had put behind him four years in the United States Military Academy at West Point, becoming the fourth colored lad to accomplish that feat. These years, as nearly everyone knows by now, are not like ordinary college years. They are hard for the white boys who are appointed, and for the occasional Negro appointee they are literally hell. In the first place, U. S. congressmen are not too keen about appointing Negro boys to West Point, and in the second place, so few colored boys have been there that the whites (like those at the University of Maryland) have come to think of the academy as a sort of private institution for whites only. Consequently, when someone like Lt. Davis comes along once in a blue moon, the other cadets make it doubly hard for him.

Young Davis was appointed by former Congressman Oscar DePriest and at once he gave evidence that he was of the stuff of which officers are made. He buckled down to business. The army part of the life at West Point was not strange to him, for his father is Colonel B. O. Davis, military instructor at Tuskegee Institute. The young cadet was used to a military atmosphere. So he attended to his books with the result that at graduation he ranked thirty-seventh in a class of nearly 300.

From the very first day, to the end of his first year the young colored cadet was completely ostracised by his fellow cadets. They never spoke to him except on official business. No smiles, no "good mornings," no chats, no friendliness—only silence, only the cool, crisp, necessary orders, requests and instructions.

It was not until June, 1933, at the end of the first year, that this silence was lifted. Young Davis said in an interview last month that so many of the men were friendly that June that he thought his troubles were over. He found out very quickly that they were not, for although the pressure was less, although more cadets spoke to him, and although life in general was much better than during the first year, it was still far from ideal. The next two years were unchanged.

In his senior year, Cadet Davis became one of the class. He has little, if any fault to find with that year. After all, his class had been together for four years. His white classmates found out he could "take it." They found he was a good student all the way through, not just in his first year. They discovered he was a gentleman and had the makings of an officer. So the last year was about the same as any college fourth year.

How about the southerners? Lt. Davis smiled a little at this natural question. He says that after four years in West Point, geographical origins don't mean a great deal. Either a man is a man, a gentleman and an officer, or he is not, no matter from what section he hails. Some southerners were prejudiced and remained so. So did some northerners.

One thing the young lieutenant stressed: the faculty at West Point is fair. The instructors will give a colored cadet exactly the same treatment other cadets receive. In the classroom there is equality. One gets the marks one earns, regardless of color, and regardless of whether the instructor is a southerner or not.

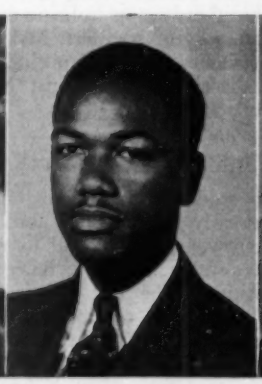
Lt. Davis is now on a brief vacation before reporting to his regiment, the Twenty-fourth infantry, at Fort Benning, Ga. The vacation is also his honeymoon, for shortly after commencement he was married to Miss Agatha Scott. The young officer and his bride will be at Fort Benning after September 12, 1936.

After nearly forty years, the ice at West Point has been broken again. It can be done. A Negro boy can learn to be an officer in Uncle Sam's army; but he has to be smart in his books, have a level head, a stout heart and plenty of "guts." It takes those qualities to make a No. 1 graduate or a No. 1 person. Young Davis, at 23, with calm brown eyes, a determined chin, and square, military shoulders, looking out

(*Continued on page 254*)

Donzleigh H. Jefferson
Honor Student
Meharry

Victoria Bernice Booker
Ranking Student
Bethune-Cookman College



Wayland C. Fuller
Honor Student
Bishop College

Daisy Tynes
Ranking Student
Livingstone College

Lucy Price Graves
Hunter College

Sumner G. Fletcher
M.A.
University of Pennsylvania

Marechal Neil V. Ellison
M.A.
University of Pennsylvania

Valerie O'Mega Justiss
M.A.
University of Toledo

Lawrence Bertell Wilson
M.A.
University of Illinois

Florence R. Beatty
M.A.
University of Illinois

Going Is Rough

(*Continued from page 233*)

knows that its head excuses discrimination by arguing that "Negroes here do not pay enough to buy coal." And sometimes, this courageous attitude and enlightened point of view is all that is needed to insure justice and a fair deal for Negroes.

Where the public opinion of a state frowns on and revolts against practices of race discrimination, both college president and faculty are less inclined to be inconsiderate and ruthless in their behavior, and frequently, this potential public opinion will act as stimulus and support to a president, or to professors, who want to curb anti-Negro sentiment and practices.

How Professors Help

The courage of individual faculty members is an important factor in saving an institution from remaining, or becoming, burdened down by its prejudices. When it happened that a university could not elect a Negro to membership in an honorary speech fraternity because the national constitution prevented, it was the courageous leadership taken by the professorial staff that kept the fight to amend the constitution going for four years until enough votes could be garnered to delete the anti-Negro stipulation. In one of the schools where Negroes cannot eat on the campus, or anywhere nearby, several professors, sick of existing discriminations, recently initiated the establishment of a restaurant where Negroes may eat, together with faculty members and white students who also patronize the place.

In many a social science course, other professors, knowing how textbooks, magazines and inherent attitudes unite to keep the Negro inferior, put special emphasis in portraying the other side of the Negro and by speakers and outside reading help to change the stereotypes which so many white students bring to college with them.

In several institutions, Negroes get an opportunity to be their best and do their utmost because there are enough student leaders who are advanced in their thinking far beyond even their professors, and refuse to join the band who become jingoistic and scatter-brained on the Yellow Peril of Japan, the Rising Tide of Color, the necessity for war, or what William Randolph Hearst would call the sellout of American education to the Communists. Where the articulate study body will not join in oppressive discriminations against Negroes, such discriminations do not go far.

These attitudes and interests of president, faculty and student, separately, or jointly, explain why one university refuses to bar Negroes from its dormitories, while another keeps them out; why Negroes are admitted as teaching fellows and instructors in one institution, while such a practice would be heresy in another; why Negroes are not singled out in any particular in one place and are marked persons in another; why a Negro approaches certain departments with fear and trembling, not knowing he will get the grade he actually makes, while in another institution, he believes that he'll get what he earns, whether his instructor hails from Dixie or not. And to keep the record straight, let it be noted, that there seems to be no evidence that professors of southern background are more inclined to show prejudice and practice discrimination against Negroes than are northerners.

Negro Students Can Help

Negro students, themselves can contribute greatly to free their alma mater from narrow prejudices and to win for themselves fuller rights, privileges and opportunities. The first step is for the Negro student so to conduct himself that nothing in his outward and visible demeanor will help to appear to make true the stereotype that Negroes act this way or that, that Negroes are obnoxious, that they are different in manner and makeup. This does not mean, however, that the Negro student must be cringing or sycophantic, or that he must attempt to be "teachers pet." It means that he will be himself—a gentleman, whatever that term may mean in our changing and democratic America.

Co-equal, certainly — perhaps even more important—is academic standing. Gentlemanly action may be interpreted differently by different people, but good grades, like dollars, come to have an unmistakable meaning and to speak an understandable language, and win recognition for those holding them. This recognition may be obtuse at times, and bring down jealousies and ill-will on the head of the ranking student, but if one has the grades, he has tremendous compensatory factors on his side and most potent instruments with which to beat back the opposition. Students and professors eventually learn to respect the Negro who can make the grades and take things in his stride without becoming "cocky."

Too much cannot be said about making friends both with the students and instructors with whom one comes in contact. This means that Negroes will not believe that all the whites are against them and intend to insult them. Rather they will realize that in any community of five to ten thousand people everyone is not going to love and hold in high esteem everyone else. There will be many casual acquaintances, there will be warm friendliness, just growing out of a common experience, there should also be some deep, sincere, all-weather friendships. Some of these acquaintances and friendships will not come in the classroom, they will come on the play field, in club meetings, at forums and in numerous other extra-curricular avenues.

Negro students cannot afford, therefore, to isolate themselves from the campus—certainly not from those significant and worthwhile activities which they have a normal liking for and would

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Editorials

The Democrats Speak

IF the Republicans said little of significance on the Negro in their platform the Democrats went them one better by saying nothing. THE CRISIS believes it is a fair criticism of both parties to say that their platforms should have mentioned lynching, the great scourge of Negro Americans and the great shame of this nation before the civilized world. Considering the large southern bloc of Democrats, it is understandable (although not excusable) that the platform was silent on lynching. Only the Lord knows what curious quirk of reasoning kept the Republicans from mentioning the crime.

It may be argued that lynching is not a major issue, but that economic security is the chief question before the race. We believe the Negro will never be able to make his proper strides until lynching is wiped out. The handicap of being a member of a race which can be lynched with impunity on the slightest, most fantastic pretext, is one which is borne by every Negro who struggles to get ahead in any field, in any section of this country—even those sections which have no lynchings. We must have economic security, we must have education, and free exercise of the ballot, but lynching must go, and the political party which temporizes on lynching must be prepared to have its protestations of good intent accepted by the Negro voter with considerable salt.

For both the major parties it may be said that their candidates seem much better than their platforms. Mr. Landon indicated in his unprecedented telegram to the Republican national convention that he is prepared to interpret his party's platform in the manner he thinks best. President Roosevelt has indicated on numerous occasions his personal differences with the traditional attitudes of his party so far as the Negro is concerned.

Not a Pretty Picture

THE League of Nations was a sorry enough spectacle during 1935 when Mussolini was pouring arms and men into Africa with the announced purpose of attacking Ethiopia, another member of the League; but Emperor Haile Selassie, in his address to the League in Geneva, in June, showed up the League and white western civilization for the unlovely thing it is. It is reported that members in attendance hung their heads in shame—and well they might—for the King of Kings, who had called upon them for a year by cable, radio and courier to live up to their solemn obligations, now stood before them, an exile from his own land, to lay the loss of his country and the murder of his people squarely in their laps.

They squirmed, they dodged, they made meaningless gestures, adopted harmless resolutions, altered their regular procedure to speed departure and save certain feelings, tucked their coattails between their legs, and made for home.

It is doubtful how long the League can last. Germany, Japan and Italy have thumbed their noses at it (Germany literally). France is interested only in the security which the League or any other agency can give against her old enemy, Germany. Britain seeks to safeguard her far-flung empire through the League if possible, but to safeguard it at all costs. With the League toppling, she is racing forward with a huge armament program, hoping against hope that she will be ready, when the League collapses, to meet the challenges of those hard-bitten, desperate realists, Hitler and Mussolini.

Ethiopia's lonely little emperor must be a sadly disillusioned man, but he has performed a valuable service. The idealists and peace- and justice-lovers have been revealed for what they are; Germany has been shown to be not the only country regarding sacred obligations as scraps of paper and honor as a passing whim.

1936 Graduates

UPON the colored college graduates in these years of national and international change falls a special duty different in some respects from the tasks which devolved upon the graduates of other days.

A new world is in the making. Unrest is everywhere, the unrest which marks clearly the dissatisfaction of great populations with the way the world has been run. On every side are words which were heard but faintly years ago: exploitation, world markets, peace, war, self-determination, economic and social security, capitalism, socialism, fascism, communism. The democratic process has been abrogated in many governments and the theory of democracy seriously questioned even in the remaining democracies.

Colored Americans, constituting a huge "different" segment in a great nation, have been accustomed to think of their problems as peculiarly racial, perhaps peculiarly American. The task of the 1936 Negro graduates is to furnish a leadership away from this erroneous concept; a leadership which will point the way out for colored Americans as a *class*, rather than as a race. Our problems are one with the problems of some of the far-off Chinese, the underprivileged Japanese, the exploited South African natives, the economically enslaved American industrial, domestic and agricultural white workers, and millions more elsewhere on the globe. The young men and women who come from the colleges this year have this tremendous challenge facing them: the challenge to join with their fellows of other colors and nationalities in making a new and better world for *all* the people, rather than for the privileged few.

Joe Louis and the Negro Press

FOR years the Negro press has been pleading for support on the ground that the white dailies of the country misrepresent and often slander the race. Following the Joe Louis-Max Schmelling fight of June 19, however, some of the Negro journals printed the type of nauseating gossip and rumor touching the young fighter and his family which no daily paper, supposed "enemy" of the race, would have touched. Chagrin over Joe's defeat can be understood. Desire to explore into the possible causes can be understood. It does seem, however, that zeal could be checked at some point and decency given a chance. If newspapers owned by white people had printed some of the references to Mrs. Joseph Louis Barrow which appeared in several of the colored papers, the latter would have led the hue and cry over "insulting our women."

Salute

WHEN the American Olympic team sailed for Berlin July 15, it carried ten colored athletes on its men's track and field team; two colored girl athletes on its women's track team; four colored men on its boxing team; and one colored man as a weight lifter. Interest naturally centers in the men's track team where Jesse Owens, America's greatest athlete, leads all the rest. THE CRISIS salutes them all, and wishes them luck in their quest for victory over the picked teams of the nations of the world.

Negro As Citizen

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these things, remember the philosophy of the Jews whose plight has been similar to your own: "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord."

I am convinced that the liberal-minded and far-seeing among us will eventually realize that, as a people, we can be no happier or stronger than our most miserable and weakest group.

The Roosevelt Policy

The doctrine of laissez faire in interracial relations has characterized national administrations since the reaction from reconstruction days. Under Franklin D. Roosevelt this attitude has changed. He has realized, as no other President since Lincoln seemed to realize, that the mere existence in the Federal Constitution of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments is no guarantee of their enforcement. Among his many humane and far-sighted acts has been that of a vigorous policy of justice toward Negroes. His administration of relief, in which Negroes have received the same consideration as whites, has given the members of the Negro race a standing which they have not enjoyed since they became citizens. Of course, the prejudices that have been fostered and built up for 60 years cannot be done away with over night, but the greatest advance since the Civil War toward assuring the Negro that degree of justice to which he is entitled and that equality of opportunity under the law which is implicit in his American citizenship, has been made since Franklin D. Roosevelt was sworn in as President on March 4, 1933.

There is appearing today among Negroes a newer, abler and more forthright leadership. It is a self-respecting leadership. They come not as suppliants or wards. It is gratifying to observe the approach of these leaders to the problems of the time and the sanity and justice of their demands for their race. It is perfectly proper that they should, as they do, regard themselves as citizens entitled to all the rights and privileges that go with that status. The record of Negroes throughout the history of America is one of which any group might well be proud. In every aspect of the Nation's life they have made significant contributions. And now, properly, the day has arrived when they are asking for a fulfillment to them of the promise of "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness."

Negroes are demanding that the ideals and principles upon which the Nation was founded shall be translated into action, and made to apply to themselves as well as to other citizens. They are not asking the Government to coddle them nor to direct their activities, but they do want the Government to assure them a fair chance and an equal opportunity in their desire to attain a fuller life.

Your Government at the present time is not insensitive to this plea, for it comports with its own conception of its responsibility. It is attempting to build a new social order and to set up higher ideals for all of its citizens. In helping the common man to achieve a life that is more worth while, this Administration is seeking the greatest good for the greatest number of the people.

Lynching, the Nation's Blight

Especially are citizens asking today that human life and personality be accorded the respect that is due them. This is especially in point at this time when intolerance is on the upgrade and mob violence appears to be on the increase. That "vile form of collective murder—lynch law— . . . has broken out in our midst again." No language is too forceful to characterize these blights on America's honor. No measures of the Government would be too strong that effectively would stamp out such un-American practices. The President of the United States has put the weight of his voice and the prestige of his high office against these evil manifestations. Many organizations and numerous law-abiding citizens everywhere have protested. Mass murders, mob rule, and terrorism are subversive of our most cherished ideals as embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The weak, the helpless, and the unprotected elements in our population have a right to expect protection from their Government. If for no other reason than that of self-preservation, it is imperative that the Nation become aroused to this insidious danger that threatens it.

In addition to the protection of their lives, liberty and property, citizens have a right to expect their Government to make it possible for them to improve their status along all lines—economic, political, and social. I am happy to tell you that the present Administration is conscious of its responsibility in this regard also.

Employment Opportunities

You are probably aware of the fact that no previous administration has provided employment in the various departments and agencies for so many Negroes as has this one. This employment ranges from the ordinary jobs to executive positions. It has been the policy in the emergency agencies to furnish positions without racial or other discrimination. Also, it has been the course of the Administration to use its influence to assure a fair deal for the Negro on all Federal projects, including construction work on public buildings, river and harbor improvements, and dams. Insofar as I have been able, and I know this is the attitude of other Government officials, I have insisted and shall continue to insist on widening the occupational base for our Negro citizens, and on increasing the employment opportunities for skilled as well as for unskilled labor and professional work, with equal pay for equal work.

This same principle guides the Administration in its relation to agriculture. It is our sincere desire, and many of our remedies have been designed with that in mind, that Negro farmers should have a better opportunity than they have had in the past. Under this Administration, through the Farm Credit Administration, they have received credit on the same basis as others. I am informed that the Federal Land Banks consider Negroes among their best risks. It is the active hope of all of us that the evils of the share cropper system shall be overcome and that as quickly as possible, through our land-use and rural resettlement programs, Negroes, along with thousands of other citizens will be established as happy, self-respecting citizens on small, producing farms.

One of the most far-reaching enterprises of the Federal Government, and one from which Negroes will receive large benefits, is the slum clearance program of the Public Works Administration. Hundreds of families soon will be taken from the slums of our cities and be given a better chance in life through the decent living conditions that will be made available to them.

Mention also should be made of the Social Security Act of the Roosevelt Administration which carries provisions for old-age pensions, maternal and child welfare benefits, unemployment insurance, aid for dependent and physically handicapped children, and aid to the blind. In view of the Negro's out-of-focus relationship to the social order and of his present economic status, these provisions are of particular significance to him.

One People, One Flag

There is no longer any question about the native ability of the Negro. Abundant proof exists that he is capable of performing all the functions required of a citizen in a democracy. But this capacity must be developed by the training of his intelligence through education. The fullest possible as well as the most modern education that he is able to absorb and use must no longer be denied him.

As the welfare of the people is more

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From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

We Must Hang Together!

Boston, Mass., *Chronicle*

ON August 2, 1776, members of the Congress of the United States signed the Declaration of Independence which had been adopted on July 4. When most of the members had signed, the rotund philosopher and scientist, Benjamin Franklin drily remarked, "Now, gentlemen, we must all hang together, or we shall all hang separately." He was thinking of the wrathful King of England who had ordered persecution of all those rebels who had a hand in this Declaration of Independence.

On this July 4, 1936, one hundred and sixty years later it is imperative that the colored citizens of the United States should draw up and sign a new declaration of independence. This should rather be signed in our hearts and minds than on paper. We need to declare our independence from slavery and peonage, from murder and rape, from poverty and prejudice, from insult and ignominy, from injustice and discrimination and from all the other evils practised upon us by every other group of people resident in our fair country.

We must declare our independence from inferiority complexes and fears, from mistrust and suspicion of each other, from yielding to the immoral and worthless schemes which sap our physical strength, destroy our moral fibre and rob us of the little money that we possess.

We must stand and fight for our place in the American Sun like men and conclude our declaration with the same momentous words:

"And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our Sacred Honor."

We colored Americans have much patriotic Honor and little Fortune, but we each have a Life to give in so good a cause. Lynchers, Legal Murderers, Judicial Misfits, Ku Klux Klanners, Black Legionnaires, Usurious Snakes and other scum are daily taking a heavy toll of our lives, liberty and property in every state of the Union. We must arise and declare an end to all that. By the help of God and the Right we must declare our independence as men and women of a free country, but, as Franklin put it, we must all hang together—or we shall surely hang separately.

While the public in general, and the sports writers in particular cannot account for the defeat of Joe Louis at the hands of Max Schmeling, no other group, save the people of color, seem to place any credence in the rumors that are afloat to the effect that Joe was doped, tricked in some way or sold out. Nor can we account for his defeat either except that he just met a better man that night and lost. In our opinion if there is anything awry it had nothing to do with the fight itself, but it has something solely to do with those who have permitted their ever ready suspicious minds to dominate good judgment.—Chicago *World*.

One of the startling developments of the Democratic National Convention was the abrogation of the two-thirds rule which has for a score of years enabled the Southern Democratic states to control the National Democratic Party, determining presidential candidates. This change is being watched with great interest by the colored people in the United States. There is no doubt that the majority rule which was used in this Convention will greatly weaken the strength of the solid South.

Another historical development that is expected to have far reaching consequences was the passage of a rule which will give the States representation in the Convention in direct proportion to the Democratic votes cast in the previous Presidential Election. This move leads to the speculation that it will serve as an opening wedge which will eventually bring representation in the House of Representatives, in accordance with the number of votes cast in each state. This rule will be of direct benefit to Negroes who have been disfranchised in the South.

It can easily be seen that Southern Democratic leaders will not jeopardize their Congressional representation by refusing Negroes the right to vote. Northern colored Democrats are heralding this as the most significant political development since the passage of the 15th Amendment.—Newark, N. J., *Herald*.

No Negro paper should have spread the rumor that Joe Louis lost his fight with Schmeling because he was tampered with. The race has too many enemies outside to afford any within. Had Louis been "doped," producing the facts and exposing the crookedness would have been journalism of a high order.

Any crookedness on Louis' part would hurt his people in the same way his good conduct has helped them. For that reason Negro papers should be the last to say there is something to uncover. Furthermore scandalmongering comes with poor grace from papers which have built circulation on Louis' popularity.—*The Call*, Kansas City, Mo.

We would be disposed to give Senator Smith and the other South Carolina delegates to the Democratic convention the benefit of every conceivable doubt for walking out because a Negro minister made a prayer if such doubts could be imagined. Their conduct bespeaks an intolerance that is even grotesque.

And, with all of South Carolina's devotion to the crusading faith of White Supremacy, it is difficult to make ourselves believe that the people of that state in this advanced day will be disposed to tender Senator Smith much applause for such behaviour.

Fortunately for the South and for the nation as well, such fiercely reacting sentiments do not generally exist among a citizenry that has, happily, outgrown such racial prejudices.—Charlotte, N. C., *Observer*.

Numerous have been the times when dastardly crimes committed by white men have been placed at the hands of Negroes, but, from all appearances, perhaps the worst case of this kind is now being unearthed in Chicago where evidence seems to point to a seven-year-old white boy murdering his mother who was sleeping beside him and then claiming that she was killed by a "big black man" while he looked on. Officers are skeptical of the youth's story and are investigating it thoroughly. . . . But this child and others of tender years who have used the black-face story in their wrong doings are not to be wondered at; they are only following in the footsteps of many of their elders who in this so easily accepted story have caused many an innocent Negro to have his life snuffed out by an infuriated mob.—Savannah *Tribune*.

The 26th Year of the N.A.A.C.P.

By Louis T. Wright

This report of the association's work was delivered as an address to the 27th annual conference in Baltimore by Dr. Wright as chairman of the national board of directors

I APPEAR before you tonight as your Chief Steward to render you an account of your association, for its twenty-sixth year. During 1935 the association's activities were characterized by aggressive action in which it carried the fight to the opposition and in many instances forced the opposition on the defensive. And may I suggest that if we are to obtain full citizenship rights and full economic and civic privileges in this nation it will not be sufficient for us to be merely defensive fighters, but within the structure of our democratic government we must ever be on the alert to challenge any threatened violation of our rights and press incessantly the claims to the real citizenship which our birthright and our services to community, state and nation entitle us. On behalf of the board of directors of your association, I pledge you that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will continue on the aggressive until every right for Negroes in this country has been won.

Following closely upon the increased activity of 1935 came an increase in the number of members and in financial support from members during the first six months of 1936. The income to the national office for the first half of this year is slightly more than $5,000 higher than the income for the similar period last year.

But if you could go with me to the national office in New York and see the volumes of appeals for help from Negroes all over the country which have to be turned down because the association lacks the funds with which to go to their assistance, you would then understand that this increase, welcome as it is, is not enough. We are independent, but we must have independence, plus movement. And this will depend upon how much you and other Negro citizens and liberal minded white citizens support the association and give it the funds with which it may fight the prejudice and discrimination and oppression from which Negroes suffer in this country.

Let me give you a brief survey of the chief activities of the association during the year 1935, and I think you will agree with me that the marvel is not what the association omitted to do, but what it was able to do on the slender total income for the whole year of $40,505.35. It could not have done this except for the unselfish, volunteer services of the devoted officers and friends in the various communities who so generously donated their services free of charge in times of crisis. As chairman of the board of directors I wish to acknowledge our profound indebtedness to these faithful friends and to give them a large share of credit in this survey of activities.

The Fight on Lynching

First, the association's fight against lynching. This has been a continuous struggle for twenty-six years. It was the occasion of the birth of the association, following the Springfield, Illinois, riots in 1908. It must continue to be the center of our activity until all fear of physical violence has been removed from the land. Some people are tired of hearing the association denounce lynching, fight for anti-lynching bills which do not pass; but these people should remember that it is the fear of lynching and physical violence which more than anything else cripples our progress and prevents our taking a more active part in the fight against the injustices heaped upon us. Negroes in South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia would be both civilly and economically free in ten years except for the overwhelming terror of physical violence. It was lynching that put the Ku Klux Klan in power during the days of reconstruction. It is lynching which maintains the southern landlords and Jimcrowcrats in power and the Negro in submission today. What does it matter to have an education, property, to lead a decent respectable life in a community, if one constantly holds his property and his life at the mercy of a mob outbreak?

As members of the association you are familiar with the filibuster conducted in the first session of the 74th Congress in April and May, 1935, against the anti-lynching bill. The bill did not reach a vote, but when you remember that the association and its friends were strong enough to stop all the business of the country on the floor of the United States Senate for six days you begin to see how the association and its program are taken seriously by those in power. The fight did not stop in the first session of Congress, but in the session just closed it was waged relentlessly both in the Senate and the House. In the Senate, pressure was brought not only to try to get the bill up again, but a resolution for a senatorial investigation of the lynchings which had occurred since the filibuster in April and May was introduced by Senator Van Nuys. It was hoped that this investigation by a select committee of the Senate would bring to light officially and in a way which could not be dodged by Congress the fact that lynchings go unpunished by states even where the lynchers are officially known. For example, on July 30, 1935 Govan Ward was lynched in Louisburg, North Carolina. The association sent an investigator to the scene who secured the names of nine members of the mob. The names were forwarded to Governor Ehringhaus who promised an official investigation. Yet the first member of the mob has yet to be arrested, the first indictment yet to be obtained, and, of course, there has been no trial and conviction.

Byrnes Blocks Resolution

Twenty-five lynchings occurred in 1935, but not a single member of the lynching mobs was brought to justice. Senator Van Nuys' resolution was favorably reported out by the Senate judiciary committee, and then by regular routine was referred to the committee on audit and control of the contingent expenses of the Senate, with Senator James F. Byrnes of South Carolina as chairman. The chairman refused to allow the resolution to be reported out of committee, and there it died as far as the 74th Congress was concerned. All this means that Senator Byrnes did not fear or feel any obligation to the Negro citizens of South Carolina. We have got to make it safe for them to vote in all sections of South Carolina, in Democratic primaries as well as general elections, and then no chairman of any senate committee will dare highhandedly to block such a resolution.

In the House of Representatives more than thirty anti-lynching bills similar to the Costigan-Wagner bill had been introduced in the first session of the 74th Congress, but the main efforts of the association during the first session were directed toward bringing the bill to the floor and a vote over in the Senate. As members of the association you will recall that the Dyer bill passed the House in 1922 but was lost in the Senate chiefly due to the attacks made on it by Senator William E. Borah. So it was felt that if a bill could be passed in the Senate it would be a less difficult job to get it by the

House because the rules of the House provide many more limitations on debate and filibuster than the Senate rules. You know that the Costigan-Wagner bill was beaten in the Senate by the southern filibuster and the attacks of Senator Borah.

The association then turned its attention in the second session of the 74th Congress to the House. Chairman Hatton W. Sumners of Texas, who headed the judiciary committee in the House, stated that under no circumstances would he permit an anti-lynching bill to reach the floor from his committee. Yet there were enough northern Democrats in the house to pass the bill even if every southern Democrat voted against it. Therefore the first strategy was to get a declaration of party policy. Under Rule 3 of the House a petition was circulated to force the calling of a Democratic caucus. When the petition first started the South laughed, but it laughed on the other side of its face when our secretary secured twenty-seven names, twenty-five being all that were required.

Then to block the association the House leader stated that he would not recognize signatures on separate petitions, but that all signatures had to be on the same petition. Our secretary, nothing daunted, went back and secured all the names on one petition. Then the leader stated that he would not receive the petition from anyone's hands except a certain representative with whom he had a gentleman's agreement. This representative was in California, not expected back for about three weeks and adjournment was around the corner. The association then got the particular representative to cancel the gentleman's agreement; the petition was presented, the caucus called, but the caucus failed to act because there was no quorum. The lynchers probably felt that the association was certainly at its wit's end.

218 Sign Petition

But instead, through our secretary and our friends in Congress, especially Congressman Joseph A. Gavagan, we started the long hard road of securing 218 names to a petition to discharge the judiciary committee and bring the bill to the floor without a committee report. Suffice it to say that the 218 names were secured; there were 218 Congressmen pledged to support the bill, but the adjournment of Congress prevented further action. Thus the Costigan-Wagner bill and its prototypes were shelved in the 74th Congress, but there are 218 Congressmen pledged to the support of anti-lynching legislation. Experienced Washington observers declare that for the amount of money spent and considering that the only person whom the association had as its Washington representative was its secretary and the few volunteers he could get to come to his side, the agitation for the anti-lynching bill set an all-time high in the history of persistent, intelligent and relentless promotion of legislation in the Congress of the United States. If the Costigan-Wagner bill did not pass, it served notice on the government of the United States that Negroes will fight, know how to fight intelligently and are determined to fight relentlessly until they receive all the protection due them as citizens.

May I take time here to pay tribute to Senator Costigan of Colorado. He has had to retire from the Senate on account of his health. In large part his health was broken down by the strenuous efforts made by him for the anti-lynching bill. He remained on the floor of the Senate during the entire six days of the filibuster at a time when his doctor had ordered him to be in bed. He is one of the greatest heroes in this fight. I am reminded of the fight Senator Foraker made for the 24th Infantry after Brownsville, and how this cost him his political career. I wonder if as Negro citizens we are sufficiently appreciative of those who sacrifice themselves in our cause. We cannot pay in votes, or money or worldly preferment. But there should be no doubt that we pay the full price in love, esteem and devotion. May this conference express in no uncertain terms its appreciation and gratitude to Senator Costigan, Senator Wagner, Congressman Gavagan, and all our friends in the Congress of the United States who helped us in our anti-lynching fight, and to the associations and organizations outside who had a total membership of 42,000,000 citizens behind the movement for a federal anti-lynching bill.

The fight for an anti-lynching bill will be carried into the 75th Congress with renewed vigor, and we can assure you that we will profit by the experience in the 74th. We go further and say that the fight will be carried into every Congress, and every state until lynching is nothing more than a hideous black page in the past history of America.

On the Economic Front

After lynching comes the matter of education and jobs. The association last year at its St. Louis conference went on record for more active participation in the field of labor and economics. We have done our best but we have been handicapped by lack of finances and lack of personnel. The association attempted to get a congressional investigation into the economic status of Negroes. It protested the exclusion of domestics, casual labor and the other excluded classes from the Social Security Act and had a representative at the committee hearings. It petitioned the Department of Agriculture and the other governmental agencies to come to the rescue of the sharecroppers, to investigate their conditions, and insert clauses in the agricultural contracts which would guarantee that the croppers received their fair share of governmental parity and other payments. A detailed study of the Tennessee Valley Authority was made and as a result several improvements in the treatment of Negroes in the valley area brought about. The association has brought pressure on the WPA and the National Youth Administration to give Negroes a fair share in the benefits and more representation in staff and general employment. It has repeatedly fought segregation in the CCC and the fiction that only white commissioned personnel should be in charge. The American Federation of Labor appointed a committee to study the discrimination against Negroes in trade unions and the organized labor movement. The association had a representative at the only hearing the committee held, and produced Negro workers before the committee to tell their own story; then when it became evident that the committee was only making a gesture, the association sent a strong protest to the American Federation of Labor and exposed for the public's information that the hearing was not going to be followed up with any real study of Negro labor conditions.

As soon as the association gets the funds more work will be done in the economic field; but what I wish to emphasize to this conference is that regardless of the particular field of work, efforts in one field carry over and have effect in the others. The problems of the Negro in this country are not separate and isolated. They are related and interwoven. Work on lynching helps remove from labor the fear of violence in the picket line, the fear of violence in case of strike; helps put labor in position to exercise the ballot for its own protection. So that the fact that the association is not able to do more directly at this time in the field of economics does not mean that Negro labor is not benefiting by its work. Negro labor benefits by everything the association does to improve the status of the Negro in America.

For Better Education

In our educational program striking progress has been made. The attacks on closed university doors are well under way. Negroes should realize that by helping to pay taxes on public institutions which exclude their sons and

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Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

27th Annual Conference Best in Years

WITH 530 delegates registered for the sessions, the 27th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P., held in Baltimore June 29–July 5, was the largest in point of attendance in the history of the association and one of the finest conferences ever held.

For the first time youth delegates held a conference of their own simultaneously with the adult meetings. Two hundred seventeen young people were registered in the youth conference, whose planning and direction were in the hands of Miss Juanita E. Jackson of the national office staff.

The conference opened Monday night, June 29 with addresses of welcome from Mayor Howard Jackson, Governor Harry W. Nice, and Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president of the Baltimore branch. An address upon the work of the association during 1935 was given by Dr. Louis T. Wright of New York City, chairman of the board of directors. The principal address of the evening was delivered by Secretary Harold L. Ickes of the Department of the Interior, who used as his subject "The Negro as a Citizen." Mr. Ickes' talk was broadcast over a nation-wide network of the National Broadcasting Company. Elsewhere in this issue will be found the complete speeches of Dr. Wright and Mr. Ickes.

On Tuesday night, June 30 a crowded auditorium heard Dr. E. Franklin Frazier speak on the Negro and the relief program and declare that under the capitalistic system the purpose of relief has been solely to forestall revolution, and that little better than starvation standards have been maintained. The other speaker of the evening was John Brophy, of the Committee for Industrial Organization, who stated that in industrial unionism there would be no color line as there has been in craft unionism. Wednesday night's program was in the hands of youth speakers and drew the largest audience of the conference. It is described in detail below.

The condition of the sharecroppers and the struggle of both white and black tenant farmers to form an interracial union in order to bargain with the plantation owners for decency and security was outlined in a graphic speech Thursday night by Gardner Jackson of the Southern Committee for Rural Social Planning. On the same program Charles H. Houston told of the fight for educational equality launched last June by the N.A.A.C.P. After touching upon the victory in the University of Maryland case, Mr. Houston went into the whole philosophy of the fight, pledged

SOME OF THE DELEGATES TO THE 27TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

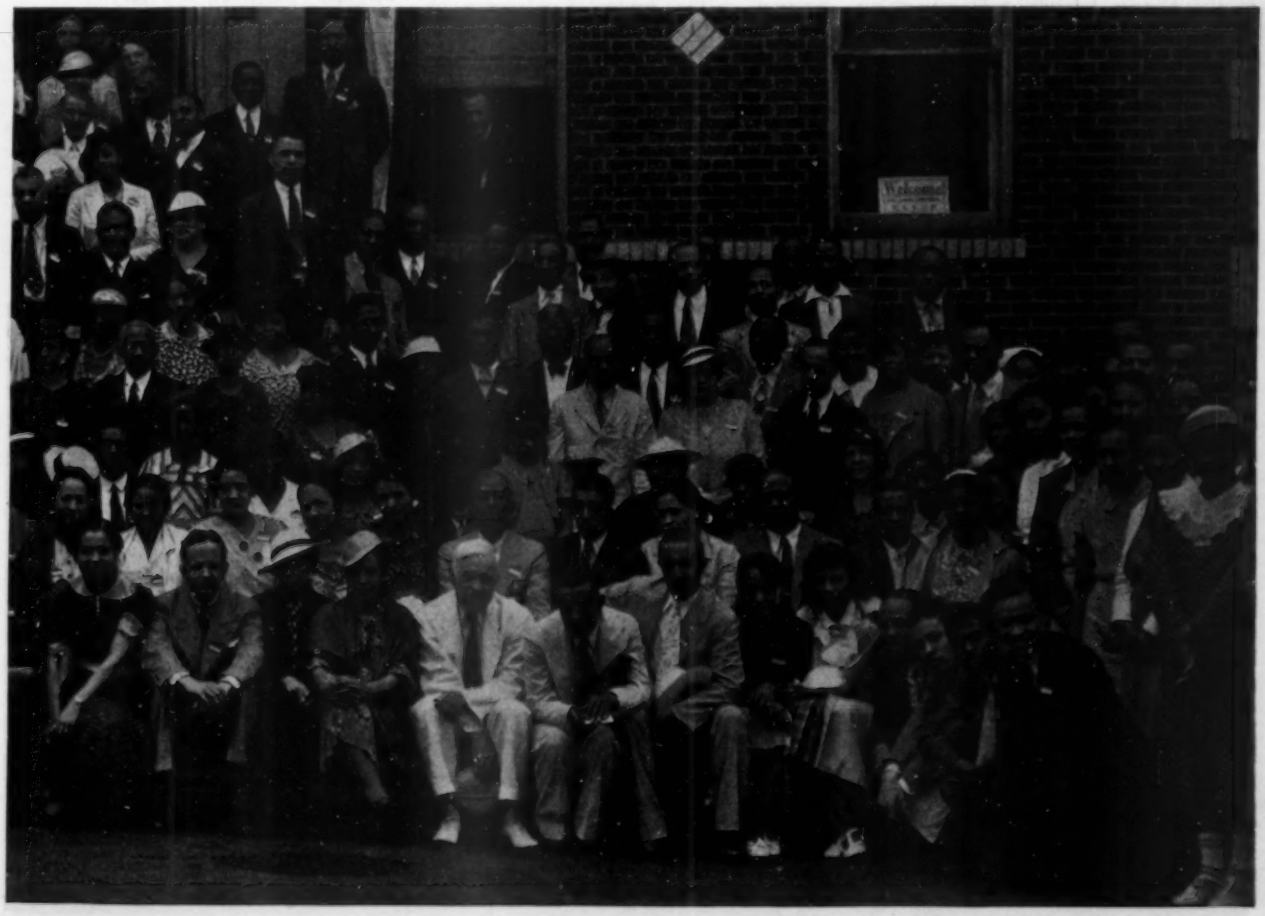
that it would not be limited to college students only, but would include a campaign for equal teachers' salaries, more and better high schools, and better equipment all down the line. He warned colored people that the fight would be a long one and asked that they back it to the limit.

On Friday night, July 3 the 22nd Spingarn medal was presented to the late Dr. John Hope, president of Atlanta university, for his work in the field of Negro education. The presentation speech was made by Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard university, who won the 15th Spingarn medal. Mrs. John Hope accepted the reward for her husband and as her response to the presentation, read a poem by Georgia Douglas Johnson. At the conclusion of the presentation ceremony a portrait of Miss Mary White Ovington, painted by Laura Wheeling Waring of Philadelphia, was unveiled by Mrs. F. Katherine Bailey of Marion, Indiana, president of the Indiana State Conference of Branches of the N.A.A.C.P. On Saturday, July 4, there were no sessions and delegates and visitors were taken on a boat ride down Chesapeake Bay as the guests of the Baltimore branch.

Senator Robert F. Wagner was the principal speaker at the closing meeting Sunday afternoon, July 5, and he received a tremendous ovation from the audience because of his fight for the anti-lynching bill bearing his name and that of Senator Edward P. Costigan of Colorado. Senator Wagner scored lynching, struck back at the critics of federal anti-lynching legislation, and declared that the record of the states showed that only the federal government could curb this crime. He pledged increasing zeal for the bill in the next session of congress. Walter White touched upon the high lights of the association's work during 1935 on all fronts and dwelt especially upon the hard campaign waged for the anti-lynching bill. He promised that the association would continue its campaign in all fields for full equality for colored Americans.

It was in the day sessions, however, under discussion leaders, that the conference reached its true effectiveness. The session Tuesday morning was opened with a word of greeting to the delegates from President J. E. Spingarn. Two round table discussions on the ballot and consumers' cooperatives were then held with W. H. Hannum of Salisbury, North Carolina, telling of the successful fight against the white primary in Wilkesboro, North Carolina; and Miss Ella J. Baker and Henry A. Hunt speaking on retail cooperatives and farmer credit unions respectively. In the afternoon Mrs. Gertrude B. Stone and James E. Gayle talked on the Gordonsville, Virginia case and police brutality. The board of directors met at 11:30 A. M. and transacted the business which ordinarily would have been done at the July meeting. At 2:30 o'clock Martin L. Harvey, one of the leaders of the youth conference, spoke over radio station WCBM on the work of the association.

On Wednesday morning, the topics of relief and social security were discussed by Alfred E. Smith and Edward S. Lewis; while another discussion group on legal defense heard C. A. Hansberry, William H. Hastie, and Roscoe Dunjee. Before the discussion scheduled for Wednesday afternoon was started, the delegates were privileged to hear Angelo Herndon and after that they considered agricultural, industrial, and domestic labor problems as outlined



OF THE N.A.A.C.P. IN BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 29–JULY 5, 1936 Henderson Photo

by John P. Davis, Mrs. Estelle P. Dye, and George H. Rycraw.

On Thursday morning, July 2, Charles H. Thompson, editor of the Journal of Negro Education, led one of the best group discussions of the conference on educational inequalities. The other session of the morning heard Dr. Ralph J. Bunche and Rabbi Edward L. Israel speak on "Fascism and Minority Groups." Both discussions were largely attended and were marked by lively debate from the floor. In the afternoon several topics having to do with the organization within the N.A.A.C.P. were considered. Miss L. Pearl Mitchell spoke on youth councils and senior branches; J. L. LeFlore urged more regional conferences; and Roy Wilkins advanced the suggestion that more than one branch might be established in one city.

Walter White spoke over radio station WFBR Thursday afternoon from 3:30 to 4:00 o'clock.

On Friday morning, July 3, Miss Enolia Pettigen and Thurgood Marshall, both of Baltimore, spoke to one of the most interested group sessions of the conference on educational problems. Paul Pearson, former governor of the Virgin Islands, told something of the government's program in low cost housing after the regular discussion. At the afternoon session, Miss Ovington told of the need for a legal defense fund and Mrs. N. Erlene Gray of Sapulpa, Oklahoma, outlined methods used by her branch to raise money. Roy Wilkins discussed publicity for the association and the expansion of The Crisis. The reports of the resolutions, time and place, and nominations committees were adopted. The three representatives of the annual conference elected to the nominating committee for the board of directors are: Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, Baltimore, Maryland; R. Nathaniel Dett, Rochester, New York; and J. Franklin Bourne, New York City.

It was voted that the 1937 conference will go to Detroit, Michigan.

The resolutions adopted by the Conference will be printed in full in the September issue of The Crisis.

Youth Section of the Conference

By James H. Robinson

Junior branches of the N.A.A.C.P. have existed for quite some time. The current year, however, has marked the first definitely successful attempt to organize a youth movement of the association. The efforts of several persons of both the older and younger groups were at last culminated in the holding of a separate national conference of youth delegates simultaneously with the national conference of the seniors, which met in Baltimore, Maryland, June 29–July 5, 1936. The meeting was organized and met under the caption, "Youth Section of the Annual Conference of the N.A.A.C.P."

The Youth Council was received with warm enthusiasm of both leaders and delegates. This, unquestionably marks another progressive step on the march of the association and most certainly indicates its healthy state.

Baltimore was an ideal city for the initiation of this much needed and long awaited youth movement. It was in this city that the work of the now famous City-wide Young Peoples Forum came into being and subsequently lent its influence and inspiration to youth of other sections of the country. Most important of the lessons which these young people have taught, is the incalculable value of what an organized group can do.

The organization and efficiency of the various committees, the youth night program, the fellowship banquet, the reception and dance, and the fact that they themselves examined every home into which delegates were sent, is mute evidence of their ability. I repeat here, what I heard many times during the conference—"Future hosts will have to go far to surpass what the youth of Baltimore have achieved."

Actual work on planning for the conference began early last spring in the national offices, under the guidance of Juanita Jackson, special assistant to the secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. Miss Jackson gathered a group of representatives from the two Youth's Councils in New York, the one in Brooklyn, and several other persons from places near the city. The officers of the planning committee were, Martin L. Harvey, chairman; J. Franklin Bourne, vice-chairman; and Virginia Anderson, secretary.

217 Registered

The attendance, interest, and the program testify to the worth of the committee's work. The official registration was 217, more than half of whom came from outside of Baltimore. The entertaining city and immediate territory, quite naturally supplied the largest delegation. In this delegation there were quite a number of white youths.

DELEGATES TO THE YOUTH SECTION OF THE BALTIMORE CONFERENCE

The first meeting, held Monday evening in the Community Center, was attended by over a hundred delegates. At this meeting the delegations were introduced, the program outlined and the leaders of the various groups gave brief word pictures of what ground they hoped to cover in their respective groups. All the leaders had previously agreed upon using Tuesday's discussion for the purpose of exploring the field; Wednesday's for attacking the problem; and Thursday's for the discussion of ways out.

The conference opened each morning at 9 A. M. in the auditorium of Grace Presbyterian church. The time from 9 to 10:30 was taken up by announcements and discussions. A different speaker presented the topic each day for discussion and afterwards answered questions. On Tuesday, Miss Ella J. Baker discussed "Consumers' Cooperatives"; on Wednesday Dr. Herman Shapiro of Johns Hopkins University discussed "Fascism and Minority Groups"; on Thursday Gough McDaniels discussed "Fascism and the Negro."

The sessions from 10:30 A. M. to 12:30 P. M. were held in five separate sections. The first was a discussion group on "Work and Relief," led by this writer; the second on "Lynching," by J. St. Clair Drake; the third on "Civil Liberties," by Martin L. Harvey; the fourth on "Educational Opportunities," by Leon Roye, and the fifth on "Organization," by Juanita Jackson.

In the afternoons and evenings, the sessions were attended jointly by youth and senior members. All business and resolutions went through a steering committee elected by the groups. Miss Ruth Dean of Baltimore was chosen chairman and Roger Williams of Boston, vice-chairman.

Youth Night Program

On Wednesday evening, the entire program was given over to the youth section. Suffice it to say that this meeting brought out the largest attendance of the conference. The meeting was presided over by Clarence Mitchell of Baltimore. After the invocation by the Rev. Edward G. Carroll, greetings were given by the president of the Baltimore Youth Council, H. Calvin Parker. Then followed a symposium—"Youth Hurls a Challenge"—in which four persons participated—namely, J. Franklin Bourne of Columbia University; Martin L. Harvey, director of religious education for the A.M.E. Zion church; James H. Robinson of Union Theological seminary; and Marjorie Penney of the Interracial Fellowship in Philadelphia. Then came an address, "The N.A.A.C.P. Challenges Youth," by Juanita Jackson, who heads up the Youth work of the association.

The climax of the meeting came with a dramatic presentation of the aims and objectives of the various discussion groups. The idea was conceived, planned, and carried out by J. St. Clair Drake of Dillard university. It received recognition as one of the high lights of the entire conference.

Although all the sessions were lively, the closing Friday morning session was the liveliest and most hectic of all. It was at this time that policy, method, organization, and resolutions were being decided upon. Even more interesting than the sharp debate on the resolutions, were the reports from the various cities represented on the year's activities. The sessions closed with an address, "Challenging the Youth Movement to Action," by this writer.

One of the most gratifying aspects of the conference was the interest manifested by the senior members. They came in goodly numbers to many of the meetings. The executive secretary, Walter White, spoke at the opening session and came to some of the other meetings. Miss L. Pearl Mitchell of the board of directors came to all the meetings and gave invaluable advice. There were others of course, too numerous to mention by name. The fact that a young person, J. Franklin Bourne, was elected to the nominating committee for the board of directors is indisputable evidence of their interest.

Let there be no misunderstanding—the Youth Section was not a separate movement or organization. It is a definite part of the N.A.A.C.P. and is under the direction of the national staff and the national board of directors. In a subsequent article three other aspects of the conference will be dealt with in a more detailed fashion. Miss L. Pearl Mitchell will write from the point of view of an observer, J. St. Clair Drake will interpret the resolutions, and Edward Lawrence will discuss the new plan of organization.

DR. ALICE M. GUY
Brought most members and won silver cup in Newark, N. J. branch campaign

Branch News

The **Tacoma, Wash.,** branch held its annual membership drive during June. The Misses Sadie May Wilson, Roberta Spencer and Roberta Weber solicited during the campaign. Mrs. Nettie J. Asberry is secretary-treasurer of the branch.

The monthly meeting of the **Scranton, Pa.,** branch was held June 8 in the rooms of the Progressive Recreation and Social Service Association. Mrs. Zenobia J. Dorsey, president, and Mrs. Bessie Smith, secretary, were in charge. A social hour followed the business session.

The **Lansing, Mich.,** branch met June 6 at the African Methodist Episcopal church.

Mrs. Randolph Henrie, Mrs. Viola Adams and Dr. Edward E. Bess represented the **New Rochelle, N. Y.,** branch at the annual conference and Miss Martha Booker represented the junior branch. Dr. Leon W. Scott, president of the branch, and John A. Ross also attended the conference.

The thirty-eight contestants of the **Decatur, Ill.,** branch won a field meet held June 26 with the **Bloomington, Ill.,** branch. Decatur accumulated 51 points and Bloomington 38. The Decatur group returned home with the silver cup which it also won a year ago.

The juniors of the **Newton, Kans.,** branch met June 11 in the Kansas Good Will room to plan the Youth Council city-wide membership drive. The main speaker of the evening was S. Ridley. The Rev. Strong of the C. M. E. church and the Rev. Roberson of the Second Baptist church also spoke to the group. The Ladies Quartet sang several numbers.

Dr. O. H. Sweet of Detroit, Mich., was principal speaker at a meeting of the **Indianapolis, Ind.,** branch in the Greater Phillips C. M. E. Temple, June 28. The Rev. Arthur W. Womack, pastor of the temple, also spoke. Dr. H. P. Murkeson of Sandusky, O., representing the conference, was to speak, but was unable to attend.

"Ethiopia at the Bar of Justice" was the title of a play given by the members, June 29. A reception was held following the play.

The June 25 meeting of the **Topeka, Kans.,** branch was postponed because most of the members were attending the two conferences in Kansas City. The executive committee met June 22 in the office of Elisha Scott. Mr. Scott was a delegate from the branch at the annual conference in Baltimore.

The **Bridgeport, Conn.,** branch met June 22 at Walters Memorial A.M.E. Zion church. The Rev. Dixon Alton Brown presided.

The **White Plains, N. Y.,** branch presented the Hampton Institute Junior Quartet at the regular monthly meeting June 28. The quartet rendered a group of American folk songs and spirituals. The guest speaker was the Rev. T. Robert Washington of Philadelphia.

The **Beloit, Wis.,** branch met June 21 at the Second Methodist church.

Chester K. Gillespie, president of the **Cleveland, O.,** branch, was one of the speakers before the Peace Parade Victory

Dinner at the Central Y.M.C.A., June 25.

The regular meeting of the **Newport, R. I.,** branch was held June 10 with LeRoy Williams, president of the branch, presiding. Mrs. Francis King was selected to represent the branch at the conference and Mrs. Bailey was her alternate. The Rev. J. Q. Jackson and J. H. Burney were the speakers at the meeting. The Southern Harmony Quartet rendered selections.

William Pickens, director of branches of the association, spoke on behalf of the Scottsboro boys June 18 at the Parks Chapel church, Oakland, Calif. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Eastbay United Scottsboro Defense Committee of which the N.A.A.C.P. is a member.

On June 21 Dean Pickens was the principal speaker for the **Alameda County, Calif.,** branch, during its membership drive. George Johnson and E. B. Thomas conducted a drive contest. A prize of a round trip ticket to the Texas Centennial was offered to the person bringing in the most memberships over fifty.

The **Grand Rapids, Mich.,** branch closed a 10-day campaign recently with a gain of 200 new members. The women's division of the drive, led by Mrs. Bessie Parker, brought in 128 members for first honors and M. L. Manning of the men's division was the leader with 28 new members. Fr. John M. Burgess of St. Phillips church was general campaign chairman and the Rev. Albert C. Keith of the Messiah Baptist church was campaign director.

A mass meeting was held June 21 to welcome the new members. The Rev. John M. Burgess addressed the meeting. John G. Shackelford is president of the branch.

The executive committee of the **Youngstown, O.,** branch met June 25 at the West Federal Y. M. C. A. S. S. Booker was elected chairman. Plans were discussed for activities and arrangements were made for W. M. Howard to attend the national meeting in Baltimore.

During the latter part of May the **Brevard County, Fla.,** branch sponsored a county musical festival at Mt. Moriah A.M.E. church, Cocoa. Among the glee clubs participating were the Titusville high school, under the direction of Miss Wilhelmina Gilbert; the Cocoa high school, under the direction of Miss Ruth Sweetwine; and the Merritt junior high school, under the direction of Mrs. H. T. Moore.

A youth council unit is being organized at Titusville under the direction of H. T. Moore and Mrs. N. N. Gilbert. The following temporary officers were elected: Miss Mettie Powell, president; Douglas White, vice-president; Miss Mary Warren, secretary; Miss Olivia McCurdy, assistant secretary; Miss Dorena Thomas, chairman of program committee.

June 28 the branch held its second anniversary celebration at Titusville. Henry M. L. James, librarian at Bethune-Cookman college, delivered an address. A program was rendered by the Titusville Youth Council.

On June 22 the members of the Gary Athletic basketball team, winner of the city championship, were guests of honor at the meeting of the **Duluth, Minn.,** branch which marked the close of the membership drive. Miss Jean Gater and Miss Wanda Lee McHenry, who represented the branch at the Negro Youth Convention in St. Paul, made their reports.

President Simmons spoke briefly and introduced James Bell, manager of the Gary Club. Mr. Bell told of his struggles in maintaining the high standard of his players. G. L. Varney of the West Duluth Y, after praising the club and Mr. Bell, presented the champions with a ball.

More than 25 persons have joined the **Hartford, Conn.,** branch of the association according to a report at the meeting June 24. The Rev. Samuel Crockett represented the branch at the annual conference in Baltimore. Miss Lisa Broome, secretary of the branch, reported on the activities for the past six months and Walter Johnson, treasurer, made his report. Following the business program the Melody Four, under the direction of J. Wesley Coffey, sang several selections and Mrs. Lillian Tillman gave a reading. Solon Taylor, Jr. announced that the next meeting would be held in September. Cecil Davis, ex-president of the branch, described the work of the association. Mrs. Murray Lee, vice-president of the branch, is chairman of the membership campaign.

The District of Columbia branch up to July 7 reported a total of $2,900.03 from all sources in 1936, including the spring membership campaign. Of this amount $1,643.27 has been sent to the national office in New York for various purposes.

The goal of the membership campaign was $3,000 and the drive for this amount was under the direction of Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin. Twenty-four teams and a group of individual workers were organized. Twelve of the twenty-four teams reported amounts varying from $102.70 to $340.95. Only six of the teams fell below a total of $50 each. The team captains who turned in $50 or more are: Thomas J. Anderson, $111.50; John C. Bruce, $293.25; Mrs. Mary Louise Chloe, $51; Cardoza night high school, $61.88; Miss Rachel Daley, $120; Joseph H. B. Evans, $69.50; Mrs. Milton A. Francis, $306; Mrs. Lillian B. Gee, $102.70; William H. Hastie, $185.02; Samuel D. Matthews, $72; A. S. Pinkett, $340.95; Frank S. Reid, Jr., $131; Mrs. Ida Reid, $113.53; Miss Laura A. Robinson, $138; Mrs. Susie R. Saunders, $70.50; Mrs. Josephine C. Smith, $94.50; Mrs. Gertrude B. Stone, $164; Mrs. Mary F. Thompson, $105.50.

The San Francisco, California, branch has entered a protest with the principal of the Galileo high school of that city because of the barring of two senior students, Miss Jane Williamson and Miss Anita Washington, with their escorts, from the senior dance at the St. Francis hotel on June 10, 1936. The committee for the dance informed the young colored students that they were being barred because the management of the St. Francis hotel so directed. Upon investigation the branch secured a statement from the hotel management emphatically denying that they had a policy of excluding colored people. An effort is being made by the branch to have a written apology made to each of the students and a policy instituted in the future of including colored students in all class functions.

The **Concord, N. C.,** branch of the N.A.A.C.P. gave a buffet supper in the dining room of Barber-Scotia Junior College, June 19 and $21.72 was realized. This amount was paid on the branch's annual apportionment. During the supper, brief talks were made by R. F. Lynn, Mesdames C. R. Pharr and S. O. Weaks, Reverends L. R. Williams and H. Wilson, and Dean L. S. Cozart. Dr. W. E. Baucom was the master of ceremonies.

The spring membership campaign of the **Newark, N. J.** branch closed with a successful meeting Friday evening May 29, with Miss Juanita E. Jackson of the national office as guest speaker. Dr. Alice M. Guy of 19 S. 14th street, Newark, was the winner of the loving cup awarded for obtaining the largest number of memberships. The cup was donated by J. Mercer Burrell, Esq. Miss Jackson made the presentation. Dr. Guy, who is rapidly gaining recognition in Newark for her interracial work, is a very interested member of the Newark branch. Mrs. Chas. H. Banks was a close second to Dr. Guy. Robert H. Wheeler, campaign chairman made a splendid report. A number of white people joined during the drive. The highlight of the drive was the anti-lynching mass meeting at St. Johns M. E. church with U. S. Senator W. Warren Barbour and Walter White, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. as guest speakers. Dr. C. O. Hilton is president and John A. Jones, secretary of the branch. Mrs. Estelle R. Bridgeford was secretary of the campaign.

Complete exoneration of Dean William Pickens from blame in fatal auto accident near Bakersfield, Calif., May 30, was secured by Attorneys Walter Gordon, left, of the Berkeley, Calif., branch, and Thomas L. Griffith, Jr., of the Los Angeles, Calif., branch in court hearing at Bakersfield, June 17

26th N.A.A.C.P. Year

(*Continued from page 245*)

daughters, they are perpetuating their own slavery and dooming their children to further exploitation and inferior position. Three suits have actually been filed against state universities: in Maryland, Missouri and Tennessee. In Maryland the fight was successful and this year for the first time in the history of the state university since 1890 a Negro boy attended the school of law of the University of Maryland. The suit against the University of Missouri is scheduled to be tried July 10, and the case against the University of Tennessee will be tried sometime next fall.

I take it nobody misunderstands the motive behind these university cases. Just once have I heard it questioned whether the association is justified in spending so much money on one student. That is not the point. It was necessary to have one student as a test case. But the efforts against the university are designed to have a repercussion down to the lowest kindergarten and rural school. They are just a preliminary to the fight for equalization of teachers' salaries, equalization of school terms, equalization of per capita expenditures, transportation. The association is pledged to fight all segregation in education, and where it cannot fight segregation direct, it intends to make segregation just as expensive as possible.

In addition to the university fight, another just as significant struggle in our education campaign is going on at the very doors of this convention. Just outside the city limits of Baltimore is Baltimore county. The whites have eleven high schools in the county, the Negroes none, although Negroes constitute at least nine per cent of the school population. In September, 1935, a Negro father took his daughter to the white high school since there was no Negro high school in the county. She was rejected, he filed suit and the association is lending its support. The case was to have been tried a few days ago, June 23, but it was continued and probably will be tried next month. Watch this case because it shows that the association is fighting not only on the top levels but also down on the secondary levels.

The fight for educational equality has spread as far as Arkansas. Out in Augusta, Arkansas, the white children in March were going to regular school with the aid of FERA money, while the Negro children in the school district were conducting an egg-a-day school. This means that the Negro school has been closed, but a few teachers remained behind as volunteers to try to give the children some more schooling and the children had to bring an egg a day as their tuition. No egg, and they had to go home, while the white schools were being run off Federal money. The N.A.A.C.P. sent its special counsel to Arkansas, and as a result of his efforts and the sacrifice of the Negro principal, John A. Hibbler of Little Rock, the Negro school was reopened and the federal money divided between whites and blacks. The N.A.A.C.P. program includes all Negroes from the kindergarten to the last postgraduate degree.

Here I wish to thank the fraternities and sororities. They have magnificently come to the support of the association in its education campaign. Many have either contributed money or appointed committees to raise scholarship funds. The Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity paid the second semester tuition of Donald Gaines Murray in the University of Maryland law school, February, 1936. All persons have responded to this program of the association.

By way of caution I wish to show you that all problems of educational discrimination are not in the South. The Mayor's Committee on Conditions in Harlem, which was appointed in part due to the efforts of the association to get a true picture of conditions in Harlem over to the public and the officials after the Harlem riot of 1935, issued a report on Harlem schools which was truly devastating. The association held a mass meeting in New York City in March, 1936, and invited more than one hundred organizations to participate. A provisional committee which had been formed prior to the mass meeting announced it was ready to proceed to permanent organization. The association then, in spite of the fact it had gathered so many together, announced from the platform that it wanted all organizations to form part of the permanent committee and joined with the provisional committee so that there would be one united solid front of effort in New York City. I say this to show you that the association does not have any organizational jealousy. It is not interested in who gets the credit, but solely in whether the work is done the best and most effective way possible. There is enough glory for all in this struggle for equal rights for us all to pull together as one and not worry about who takes the lead.

On the ballot, the association, with the help of the citizens of North Carolina, has been in large part the cause of the United States government prosecuting and convicting a Democratic registrar in North Carolina who refused to register Negroes in the Congressional election of 1934. It is still investigating the Democratic primaries in Texas, and I can assure you it will never accept the decision of the United States supreme court as the last word that Negroes cannot vote in the Democratic primaries. The decision of the United States supreme court has merely closed out one avenue of attack. If we cannot make a frontal attack, we are looking for weak spots in the flank.

I could go on and tell you of fights against discrimination in the government service, and post office, of the struggle to get the Pennsylvania civil rights act truly and effectively enforced, the fight against discrimination in transportation, to keep the Olympics free from race prejudice, the struggle for due process of law represented by the victories in the Jess Hollins case and the Brown, Ellington and Shields case, where the supreme court of the United States once again in the Hollins case affirmed the right of Negroes to jury service, and in the Brown, Ellington and Shields case took the high ground that trial by torture could not be tolerated under our constitution.

In the field of health, the association has been waging a steady and relentless fight against the segregation of Negro doctors and nurses in hospitals and in public health work. We know that identical justice and equal opportunity are essential for the reduction of our morbidity and mortality rates. We know that some organizations, for the sake of their own existence, try to frighten wealthy citizens by pointing out to them that the Negro is a health menace to America. Which is a lie. All sickness and death rates decrease in direct proportion to the economic opportunity of the group studied is concerned. The denial of the Negro patient proper hospitalization, with equal protection to life—as that afforded to all other citizens, is an outrage that transcends lynching in its subtle barbarity. America is the loser for its damnable proscriptions of and the handicaps placed upon Negro professional men and women. They have purposely been miseducated—they have been taught that they are different from other doctors and nurses—all of which is a deliberately planned and intentional falsehood; but the Association is not misled in this way. It stands shoulder to shoulder with and squarely behind the ideals of the Manhattan Medical Society—that vigorous and hard hitting foe of segregation in our professional ranks, to the end that Negro patients, doctors and nurses will receive the identical care, treatment and training as that afforded any citizen, regardless of his extraction.

In conclusion, let me assure you that this, our association will never weaken, never waver one iota from our objectives, but will increasingly and persistently wage our fight unselfishly and fearlessly until every bulwark of segregation and discrimination based upon race has been overcome.

Oswell William Bannister
Honor Student
Bluefield State

Carlus Mathis May
Ranking Student
Morris-Brown University

Elizabeth Garland Schmoke
Magna cum laude
Shaw

Almeta Virginia Crockett
Honor Student
Lincoln University, Mo.

Wilma B. Knowles
B.A.
A., M. & N., Pine Bluff, Ark.

College Graduates

(*Continued from page 236*)

School	Number Enrolled	A.B. or B.S.
Tougaloo College	107	17
State College, Dover, Dela.	83	11
Voorhees N. and I.	83	..
Florida A. & M.	54	54
Benedict College	47	47
Gammon Theological Seminary	38	..
Bennett College for Women	..	27
Total	19,902	1,791
New York University	321	8
Ohio State	268	19
University of Kansas	149	21
Indiana University	136	3
University of Illinois	108	14
University of Iowa	58	5
Western Reserve	54	8
Butler University	53	3
Oberlin	47	2
University of Pittsburgh	40	6
Kansas State	28	1
Loyola University	27	..
University of Nebraska	25	1
University of Minnesota	25	..
Hunter	..	23
University of Colorado	19	1
College of the City of New York	18	..
University of Cincinnati	..	11
Simmons College	12	2
Boston University	..	2
Pennsylvania State	9	..
Harvard College	8	..
University of Denver	8	1
University of New Mexico	8	..
Rutgers University	7	1
Radcliffe	6	..
Springfield College	6	1
Dartmouth	6	1
De Pauw University	6	1
Mass. Institute of Technology	6	..
Mount Holyoke College	3	1
University of So. California	..	..
Beloit College	3	1
Carnegie Institute of Technology	3	1
Syracuse University	3	2
Yale University	3	..
Creighton University	2	..
Colorado College	2	..
Bowdoin College	2	..
Tufts	2	..
Drew University	2	..
Amherst	2	..
Wooster College	2	..
Hamline University	2	..
Barnard	2	..
University of Buffalo	1	..
Grinnell College	1	..
U. S. Military Academy	..	1
Keuka College	1	..
Total	1,494	141

Meharry Medical College

Enrollment	280
Graduates	55
Medical	32
Dental	6
Pharmacy	4
Nurse Training	10
Dental Hygiene	3

Howard Professional Schools

D.D.S.	5
LL.B.	4
M.D.	35

Going Is Rough

(*Continued from page 240*)

participate in, if they were in any other but a predominantly white institution.

If campus friendships are to count most in critical situations, these friendships must include some of the stalwart student leaders and the articulate minority whose voices carry weight on the campus. It will not do solely to attach onesself to the jolly good fellows, or to the chronic non-conformists and complainants, who are always crying "wolf, wolf." In time, sound friendship and esteem built on mutual high regard may be of inestimable advantage when the Negro student needs allies to stay the hand of ruthlessness.

Then Negroes can also definitely help to educate both professors and students. They can call the attention of students and professors to pertinent articles on the Negro appearing in the learned journals and other magazines; they can get the library to acquire books on the Negro and subscribe to Negro newspapers and periodicals; they can work to bring to the campus artists like Roland Hayes and Paul Robeson, who will be good for the box office and also present to the student body a type of Negro white students know so little about; they can also join with the Christian associations (some Christian associations) and anthropology faculties and socio-civic groups in arranging institutes on cultural conflict to acquaint small bodies of students at a time with the true facts concerning Negroes and other minority groups.

Negroes who live a sheltered life and refuse to attend functions open to them for fear of being insulted, or of embarrassing their host, turn their back on great opportunities to convert and win friends for the Negro race. Many white students know only the Negro of the screaming headlines, the grinning Negro of the newsreels, or the moronic Negro described in the old high school sociology textbooks. They have never had a chance to meet any others, either in history or in the flesh. Many of these students—or the best of the lot, can be made to see and to appreciate the Negro so few white people really know, through meeting Negro personalities who give the lie to the headline, the movies or the half-baked texts.

Courage and an enlightened viewpoint on the part of college president and faculty, potential liberal public opinion, the interest of articulate students in fair play and justice, and concern of Negro students in sharing fully in college life will all help in overcoming the obstacles and annoyances which confront Negro students, just because they are Negroes. But of all these qualities, courage on the part of an enlightened president is the greatest need to prevent colleges and universities from inculcating into students the ideology that honesty, fair play, and respect for human personality are virtues not to be practiced where Negroes are involved. If a president is square, if he will not wink at known discriminations based on race, creed, and color, his subordinates will recognize that they haven't an open field to run rough-shod over those students who happen not to be born from the right family stock.

The Negro graduates of white institutions have had extra problems to meet and overcome. If these obstacles have not arisen everywhere, it is because of one, or several, of the reasons I have tried to outline. The writer hopes that no one will want to say that because the way is rough that Negroes should not attend the leading educational institutions of the country. They should. White men and women and black men and women must live together and work together and in the new American democracy in the making it is especially necessary that white educated Americans learn early to know and get along with members of a significant part of the American body politic and social. It is not bad, either, for Negroes to have problems; the essential thing is what Negroes do about these problems and

to date, they have wrestled with them —they have made stepping stones of the barriers put in their way; they have shown that young white men and women can be won as sympathetic friends and militant allies, if need be. (Did not even West Point cadets applaud the graduating Benjamin O. Davis long and fervently?); they have revealed that White America is perhaps as much maligned by those who speak for it as is Black America. They have not only stuck through to graduation, but they have also won their share of the coveted honors open to American university men and women.

Negro As Citizen

(*Continued from page* 242)

and more dependent upon the kind of government we have and the way it works, it becomes increasingly important for the government to have in its service the best talent that is available and to insist that that talent make the best possible use of the country's resources, both natural and human. And our resources will not be put to their best use unless it is in the direction of achieving the greatest good for the greatest number of our citizens, regardless of race or creed or color. Nor can this be done unless we remember always that, regardless of diversity of religion, or customs, or origin or race, we are one people under one flag.

New Youth Spirit

(*Continued from page* 238)

outmoded dogmas that cloak student life at Negro schools. Among the most significant resolutions passed by the body were those setting up trade union committees on Negro campuses to function as a sector of the local National Negro Congress Committee, the support of the N.A.A.C.P.'s court struggle for equal educational opportunities and the expression of a willingness to lend that organization mass support in obtaining favorable decisions, the support of the American Youth Act formulated by the American Youth Congress and now pending in Congress, which is the only piece of legislation which adequately provides for the five to seven million youth now unemployed. But most significant of all, is the resolution which reads: "Though Negro students, our problems are not peculiar to Negroes. Throughout America we see our fellow white students become socially conscious and aware of their economic insecurity. In the American Student Union we see

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an amalgamated force of black and white students realistically facing these problems."

Even the most conservative person could not help but admit that something is taking place among Negro youth—something that has never occurred before. This "new spirit," which Langston Hughes prophetically wrote in 1934 would have to be put in the majority of Negro schools by the students themselves if any hope is to come from the colleges, is now quite evident. Witness the peace strikes and assemblies that took place April twenty-second in such conservative and reactionary colleges as Hampton Institute, Morehouse College, Spelman College, Johnson C. Smith, and several others. These were new centers of interest that added their activity to the veterans at Howard and Virginia Union, while students of five nations joined hands in a determined effort to unite for peace and balk the fascist tendencies brought on by the present economic crisis.

Born out of stark reality and dire necessity the ideology and program of the youth section is bound to penetrate into every corner of Negro life where youth gathers. The paradox of an older generation singing "Happy Am I" in the face of starvation or depending on a deaf and far off God to create a job in a closed-down factory no longer baffles the younger generation. Breaking with tradition which "fetters soul and will," youth is facing the challenge of modern society in increasing numbers and not only demanding a hearing, but forging the youth section of the National Negro Congress, a new weapon capable of attacking and mastering the problems confronting them.

James Oliver West, Jr. (left), summa cum laude, Virginia Union University; and Nettie Allie Petty, summa cum laude, Claflin University

No. 1 Graduate

(*Continued from page 239*)

at the world from his more than six feet, seems to have all the qualities to come out on top in his chosen profession and in the battle of life. He is a worthy successor to the revered Colonel Charles Young, the last man who licked West Point and the army in spite of having a dark skin.—R. W.

College Graduates

Earl L. Sasser, for the past eight years head of the department of English, Prairie View State college, Texas, is the first colored student to receive the degree of doctor of philosophy from the department of English at Cornell university. The subject of his thesis was "The Fiction of Robert Buchanan." Dr. Sasser was born in Goldsboro, N. C., and did his undergraduate work at Shaw university where he was graduated in 1926.

Edgar A. Hammons received his A.B. from Millikin college in Decatur, Ill., and Miss Mary Jane Johnson of Assumption high school won a scholarship to the State Normal college. Charles L. Livingston won a scholarship to Millikin college.

Rayford Logan, of the Atlanta university faculty, received his Ph.D. from Harvard.

NOTICE

A few pictures of graduates and notes upon their achievements could not be accommodated this month and will appear in the September issue.

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